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ABSTRACT

This document contains five monographs on correctional education in the United States and internationally. "Towards a Renaissance of Prison Education: International Preconference Symposium" (Carolyn Eggleston, Alice Tracy) reports on a joint symposium of the Correctional Education Association and the European Prison Education Association at which 50 representatives from countries around the world drafted a theoretical framework for prison/correctional education. "Cost Effective Corrections Program Options" (Sylvia G. McCollum) examines the benefits of prison job fairs and discusses a U.S. Federal Bureau of Prisons initiative that has resulted in 43 mock job fairs in 34 federal prisons since October 1996. "It Just Couldn't Have Been Our School: A Phenomenological Study of the Schooling Experiences of African American Male Inmates" (Shandra R. Terrell) reports on a study in which nine African American male inmates were interviewed regarding their schooling experiences. "Funding Sources for the Education of Incarcerated Adults in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin" (Sharon Abel) explores funding options to expand a local technical college's program for local inmates. "The Need for Cognitive Skills Training in Correctional Vocational Education Programming" (Kim Kachelmyer) examines the role of cognitive skills training as a precursor to vocational education programming in Minnesota prisons. All papers contain substantial bibliographies. (MN)

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Yearbook of Correctional Education 1998-1999

**Edited by
Stan A. Karcz and
Frank B. Wilderson, Jr.**

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1954 Buford Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55108**

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EDITORS' MESSAGE

For a journal or a YEARBOOK to fulfill its mission it needs the ability to respond and adapt to the community it serves. In this edition of THE YEARBOOK of Correctional Education, we have the good fortune of being able to present an intelligent, vibrant group of women authors and researchers who help us understand better the field of education within prison walls.

This YEARBOOK presents, for the first time, a scholarly and critical appraisal of the early school experiences of Black American male prison inmates who face distinctive problems in school and society.

In addition, this YEARBOOK covers work of one author whose research led to successful completion of her Masters Degree and of two researchers whose work led to the completion of their Doctorate Degree. A third Ph.D. dissertation was withheld from this publication of the YEARBOOK due to limitation on the length of this edition. That dissertation will be published in the year 2000 YEARBOOK.

The monographs published in this YEARBOOK make a contribution to original research in the field of correctional education, particularly in the United States, as regards to research methodology and theory building strategy. Investigative methodology is extended beyond the traditional survey research and experimental designs so prevalent in our field.

The authors Drs. Eggleston and Tracy employ what has been described as "Focus Group" methodology to tease out theoretical and philosophical themes or underpinnings which inform and direct correctional education in North American and Europe. The authors asked experts in the field of correctional education to reflect upon the 1990 Council of Europe Report, "Education in Prison", and the article, "Toward a Future of Correctional Education: A Voice for Tomorrow", from the 1993 YEARBOOK of Correctional Education. Then, over two days, the fifty correctional education professionals and experts discussed four themes in an effort to arrive at a consensus on a theoretical and philosophical approach to the education of prison inmates. The findings are illustrative of the state of the field and point the way for further research on this topic.

In her article, Sylvia McCullum describes the end results of an assumption that inmates should be afforded an opportunity for an education while in prison. She highlights the success that the Federal Bureau of Prisons has had in supporting the "Job Fairs" and "Mock Job Fairs" in an effort to stimulate interest in inmates for pursuing their own education and interest in potential employers in the hiring of persons newly released from prison.

In fields of scholarly work, several methodologies hold equal weight and utility

in the search for truth. "Poets employ a variety of technical skills, including the romantic rhetoric, the dramatic situation, and the manipulation of narrative viewpoint..." (Miller, R. Baxter, editor, p. xii).

In psychology and education, the use of phenomenological methodology is beginning to be employed in an effort to get beyond the observable and to understand better the experiential, situational and systemic dynamics which, in their interaction, helps to produce that which we only observe later.

Dr. Sandra P. Terrell, in her article, explores the early school experiences of African American male inmates through the examination of their spoken words, meticulously recorded and analyzed, in multiple interview sessions. Her final chapter serves as a road map for those who would use this type of research to uncover hidden cause-effect relationships in a number of important areas of prison education.

Sharon Abel's presentation is on funding, or a better term would be, the uncertainty of funding. Here the author employs a descriptive design to provide insight into where the funding was directed and from where the funding was coming. She finds that there is little promotion or publicity for local inmate education programs. However, a great deal of the funds used in the education of inmates is from local and state sources. The results may not be directly generalizable to other facilities, however, the illustrative findings should give prison and jail officials newer places to look for funds for their own institutions.

Finally, Dr. Kimora's work highlights the need for training of inmates in the cognitive skills areas in order to promote higher levels of success in vocational training programs.

Limited by space, we could not publish the dissertation completed by Dr. Cleaster Jackson. Her research study will appear in the Year 2000 edition of the YEARBOOK.

Acknowledgments are appropriate to many colleagues. Particular gratitude goes to the authors who contributed their work to this YEARBOOK. We thank Dr. Alice Tracy and Ms. Cally Krier who has constantly encouraged us and supported our efforts to get these manuscripts into production. We, also, wish to thank members of the Editorial Board for their comments and critique. The University of Minnesota has provided financial support for the services which were necessary to produce the YEARBOOK. And, finally, we wish to thank our wives Mary Karcz and Dr. Idalorraine Wilderson, who read and re-read material and constantly supported our efforts.

Note: See R. Baxter Miller, Ed. Black American Poets Between Worlds, 1900-1960, The University of Tennessee Press, 1986, p.xii.

Editors: Stanley Karcz, Ed.D.

Frank B. Wilderson, Jr. Ph.D.

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Stan A. Karcz, Ed.D.

Dr. Karcz is the Principal of the Minnesota Transitions Charter High School and Middle School in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He obtained his Ed.D. in Special Education Administration along with his MPA (Maxwell School) in Citizenship and Public Affairs from Syracuse University. His C.A.S. was obtained from Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Illinois in Curriculum Development. His earliest graduate degree was from the University of Iowa in Iowa City, Iowa in Special Education for the Student with Severe Emotional Disturbances. Stan's B.A. was in Philosophy and Political Science from Loras College in Dubuque, Iowa.

Stan Karcz has taught high school and college for over twenty years. He worked for the Illinois State Board of Education being responsible for administering the state categorical special education programs (¼ billion dollar budget for 254,000 youth with handicapping conditions). He was also the first Director of Special Education for the Illinois Department of Correction's School District #428. In this capacity he: developed a comprehensive plan and a systems approach to delivering special education services to inmates; hired 90 staff within the 1st three months; and provided a statewide training program for Wardens and their staff on the policies and procedures for the delivery of special education services. In addition, Stan worked as a Program Director for the Wackenhut Corrections Corporation that built and ran private prisons throughout the U.S., Puerto Rico, Australia, and the U.K.

Stan's interests guiding the majority of his professional decisions relate to: finding, developing, and promoting effective programs; developing transition systems for inmates and special education students; and discovering, and developing effective social skill strategies for inmates and "at risk" youth.

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Frank B. Wilderson, Jr., Ph.D., L.P.

Dr. Wilderson is a professor in the department of Educational Psychology and Co-Director of the Center for Research on Correctional Education at the University of Minnesota, in Minneapolis. He, along with Dr. Stanley Karcz, are the immediate past co-editors of the Journal of Correctional Education.

Dr. Wilderson received his B.A. degree in Education from Xavier University of Louisiana, and his MA and Ph.D. in Child Development and Educational Philosophy from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He is in his 37th year at the University of Minnesota where he has held positions as a faculty member, and an Assistant Dean, and has served for fourteen years as one of the vice presidents of the University of Minnesota.

The interest in correctional education research and training that Dr. Wilderson brings to his work as co-editor has its roots in the early experiences he had in preparing teachers to work with youth who were experiencing serious mental health and behavior problems. He developed a teacher preparation program at the University of Minnesota to help prepare teachers to take on the task of educating difficult to reach youths by providing trainees with intensive, hands on clinical experiences, in a variety of institutional and community settings. One such institutional setting was the Minnesota Correctional Facility at Stillwater, Minnesota. Here in 1968, he and his graduate students spearheaded a training program which prepared academically ready inmates in the basic skills area of school learning.

He is the co-author of the Discovering Diversity Profile, 1993, and is currently collaborating with Dr. Karcz on the development of an instrument to profile the level of "life skills" competencies which individual inmates possess. Knowing strengths and weaknesses in the life-skills area would allow rehabilitation efforts and resources to be allocated with greater precision and cost effectiveness.

Towards a Renaissance of Prison Education: International Preconference Symposium

Edited by Carolyn Eggleston, Ph.D. and Alice Tracy, Ph.D.

Introduction

On July 8-10, 1998, in Park City, Utah, the Correctional Education Association and the European Prison Education Association held a joint symposium to draft a theoretical framework for prison/correctional education. Fifty representatives attended from several countries, including Australia, Canada, England, Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland and the United States. The participants work as teachers, college professors, and administrators in adult, juvenile, state, provincial and national agencies.

To prepare for more than two days of intensive group discussions, individuals were requested to read the 1990 Council of Europe Report, "Education in Prison," and the article, "Toward a Future of Correctional Education: A Voice for Tomorrow," from the 1993 Yearbook of Correctional Education. Through the readings and workshop interaction, the group hoped to delineate positions which would be flexible enough to use as a theoretical framework in all countries, while permitting for cultural and political differences in emphasis.

The participants were arranged in five groups of ten and the discussion was led by a facilitator. A scribe was chosen to record the discussion. Four themes were presented to the symposium participants:

1. What should be the philosophy of prison/correctional education?
2. How could that philosophy be implemented from a practical point of view?
3. What didactic considerations should influence program design?
4. How should the effects of prison/correctional education be evaluated?

In Park City, fifty professional, well-educated, experienced, opinionated educators sat down together for two days to discuss the most fundamental issues concerning their work. What follows is a summary of that wide-ranging, often fast-paced, discussion. While it would be impossible to capture in writing all of the ideas and statements made by these individuals, and some participants may disagree with certain statements made here, the editors have tried to include all points of view and to set forth those opinions in such a way as to make a cohesive whole. While we cannot speak for the entire field, many educators will find

important insights here, and we hope, a foundation for further professional development.

Philosophy

The lack of a shared philosophical structure has hindered correctional educators in the process of defining our role. Articulating commonly held thoughts on prison/correctional education should allow us to develop a philosophy within our institutions, agencies and with other colleagues which may establish, in the future, a greater commonality of purpose in the field of prison/correctional education. The more we develop and share a common philosophy, the stronger will be our profession.

The group discussions led to the development of two major philosophical tenets:

All individuals have a fundamental right to education and lifelong learning is every individual's civic duty and the responsibility of all members of society.

As participants and advocates of the lifelong learning process, prison/correctional educators strive to create a community of learning which enriches people and aids in expanding their range of responsible and informed choices. Within this community, it was thought education should be made possible for everyone: prisoners, teachers, security staff and others.

There exists, however, a delicate balance between correctional and educational goals. In the shaping of our philosophy, one group asked, how can we articulate the "space" between being correctional and being educational? It is one thing to provide a person an education; it is another to provide that person with an education meant to "correct" the individual. Put another way, how do we balance the rights of the individual with the collective rights of society, especially the right to public safety? Underlying this question are profound issues of class, race, power and politics that effect the content, administration and funding of prison/correctional education programs.

Although such social complexities would be impossible to define in the timeframe of the symposium, we agreed that our philosophy of education must include a role for educators as reformers of persons, or at least as facilitators of personal reform. To facilitate personal reform means: equipping individuals with the skills and opportunities to make effective, authentic, informed choices; teaching individuals to take responsibility for their actions, and teaching students to acquire an internal locus of control. Society, however, cannot make educators solely responsible for the success of offenders once they return to the community. If our role is to help inmates return to society as productive, law-abiding, lifelong learners, we have to ask what responsibility society has to the incarcerated, during and after their imprisonment. If, as articulated in our philosophy statement, lifelong learning is the responsibility of all members of society, society must assume a measure of responsibility for helping that learning come about. The education provided within prison must be linked to both the education an inmate may have received before incarceration and the education which an in-

mate can pursue after release. Prison education is only one important element in the continuing process of lifelong education in which an inmate is engaged.

Implementation of Philosophy

Roles and Responsibilities

When the participants turned to examine how to implement our philosophy, an issue arose which had not been identified by the organizers, but which was very much on the minds of the participants: how to define ourselves as professional prison/correctional educators. This issue is one which all of us have to confront on a frequent basis, because defining what it means to be a prison/correctional educator cuts to the core of the issues we struggled with when trying to define our philosophy: if we are reformers of persons, providing the means for individuals to become lifelong learners, any discussion of how to do that must begin with a discussion of defining what it means to be a prison/correctional educator. We cannot begin a serious discussion of prison/correctional education without looking at the educator.

Because prison/correctional education involves working with difficult, resistant learners, it requires staff who are better than those in mainstream education; therefore prison/correctional educators should have a significant input into staff selection and professional development activities. Teachers come to institutions having to unlearn what they were taught in traditional teacher training programs; and yet, at the present time, substantive, accessible pre-service and in-service programs for educators, with a few notable exceptions, are lacking. As professionals, we must create the necessary means to educate ourselves about our field.

A profile of the skills and characteristics of practitioners working in the field of prison/correctional education should include qualities such as knowledge and passion for their subject; resourcefulness and creativity; tenacity and resilience in the face of prison realities and high levels of energy and flexibility. The responsibilities of the individual educator include providing a safe learning environment where students succeed and don't fail; advocating the value of education with inmates and within the institution, and maintaining themselves as lifelong learners.

As participating members of a team of correctional professionals, our role as educators is to offer programs that help the incarcerated make the positive academic, occupational and living skill choices which will assist the offender in succeeding in the community. As prison/correctional educators, we recognize that we influence the behavior, knowledge and skills of our students. We believe that education directly influences behavior in a positive, socially beneficial fashion.

The institution's responsibilities toward its education program include fostering a culture of lifelong learning, and maintaining a qualified, professional, well-compensated staff who receive job-specific training. Teachers should be allowed to teach in their areas of competence, should have access to professional support services, should have access to pre-service and in-service training appropriate to prison/correctional settings, and should have work loads designed in accord with

effective educational presentation. The participants took the position that while volunteers play an important and significant role in the educational process, they should not be used to replace a qualified, professional, well-compensated staff.

Education

Prison/correctional education may be seen as a hybrid of two professional fields: corrections and education. While we recognize the similarities between prison/correctional education and education which takes place in society at large, we also recognize that some needs of both teachers and students in prison are different and unique to the situation.

Education as we define it covers a broad spectrum which must include academic and vocational education and library services, but should also include a variety of other cultural activities, social education, physical education, employment counseling, and sports. All too often, education is viewed narrowly as competency or training, but we argue for a much broader view. In the development of the inmate student as a whole person, the entire spectrum of possible educational offerings must be considered. It is important to bring in many learning opportunities as possible into the institutional setting. People learn in many different ways, so transformation may occur in the vocational shop, the art room, or the academic class. These opportunities must be offered in a safe, supportive environment which includes flexible scheduling, classroom interaction, and both student and staff accountability.

Prison/correctional education must be part of the entire program delivery model in order to be effective and to ensure that education continues to exist in the institution. The participants recognize and support the need for working with other programs to develop the skills and abilities each inmate may need. While we recognize that prison facilities depend, sometimes to a large and significant extent, on inmate labor and on training inmates for that labor, and while we also recognize the increasing desire of some prisons to create income through inmate labor, we affirm that the primary function of education in prison must be to provide students with skills which assist in their personal reformation and their development as lifelong learners. Prison/correctional education must be able to provide a student with the ability to make personal/social change, and must be allocated the resources to allow this to happen.

Mandatory Vs. Voluntary Education

One of the unresolved issues we examined was that of mandatory versus voluntary education. Some participants saw mandatory education as an ethical issue, while others felt that mandatory education is an appropriate strategy for convincing reluctant students of the value of education. Among the ethical issues raised were the following questions: Should educators exercise this kind of authority? Can we distinguish between rational and irrational authority? What right do we have to demand that the student take educational courses? Can we justify this exercise of authority based on the recognition (by way of the assessment process) that students clearly need schooling?

Proponents of mandatory education often argue that students are unaware of the benefits of education and may resist attending school due to bad past experiences, but do these arguments mitigate the fact that we are using our authority to enforce involvement in the educational process, which by its very nature depends on the free exercise of thought? Some participants arrived at the position that mandatory education was a "necessary evil," which should be based on the assessment model. Later, as the student grows and develops in the program, they felt the teacher's role would change, moving from that of expert to facilitator, and the student would have a greater role in making decisions about his or her involvement in the education program.

Education Program Design

The participants stressed again that education should include all members of the correctional community—students, teachers, security staff and administrators—and that the institution, and the students in the institution, are part of a larger society. It is important then, that prison/correctional educators not only create a safe environment within the institution for education to take place in, but that the education program contribute to the safety of the institution and the safety of the community.

Community members, including employers, representatives of cultural, racial and ethnic groups, and members of self-help organizations and others, should be brought into educational programs. This interaction between members of the community and inmates allows the students to practice acquired skills, educates community members, and lessens the stigma associated with incarceration while supporting rehabilitation.

If we begin to plan program design with the goal of creating a safe environment for all people, we must hold the belief that all students can learn because it is only through learning that people can experience change.

Only when people change will we have a truly safe environment. The content of the curriculum, though, must depend on the needs of the individual, which means that we cannot create programs and expect students to match their needs to the program offerings, but rather the program must be designed for the needs of the whole person. These needs are not only academic and vocational, but also personal and cultural.

In order to respond effectively to the needs of individual students, prison/correctional education must recognize the cultural, racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and gender differences among students. Prison/correctional education must value that diversity and use appropriate teaching techniques and methods of instruction. Significant value must be given to the uniqueness of each individual, and each individual must be given the encouragement and opportunity to value and develop his or her relationship to the individual complexity of social and cultural background. In addition to this necessity of valuing individual differences, efforts should be made to provide individual inmates with appropriate linguistic and social tools in order for them to be effective social and political participants.

In the development of the inmate/student as a whole person, the entire spectrum of possible educational offerings must be considered. It is important to plan for the needs of the individual inmate, and the inmate should be involved in the planning and implementation of their education program. Inmates are able to make a positive contribution to their educational process, and prison/correctional educators must trust inmates to make good educational decisions. Education should be part of a total inmate case management plan. The educational needs of an inmate must be considered when planning institutional transfers. In fact, a continuum of education services should be ensured before, during and after incarceration, including between one institution and another so when inmates are transferred their educational programming is not interrupted.

In educational programming in the United States, more stress is placed on specific skill development, while in Europe, the focus is on creating as many learning opportunities as possible with the goal of educating the whole person. These differences lead to significant variations in program offerings. North American curricula centers on certificate or credential acquisition such as GED (General Equivalency Degree) certificates or vocational completions. European curricula focuses on content, such as reading, art or music programs which enhance skill development in a more personalized way. In any case, the program design should begin with a careful assessment of student needs with special attention paid to learning styles, personal goals, and cultural, racial and ethnic sensitivities. The students must be actively involved in the development of their goals and objectives, and goals and objectives, for both the student and the program, must be stated clearly. As staff work with students on formulating their goals, they develop the interpersonal connections between staff and student key to the student's success on the outside. The teaching staff must make the effort to be learner-centered, to create a supportive environment, and to design enriching learning activities which meet individual needs. The attitudes, empathy and cultural sensitivity of the education staff, then, are as important as their academic training. Also important, though, is staff development for educators and the implementation of a system for modifications and accommodations for learners with educational disabilities or other unique learning needs. The prison administration also should receive training in the need for flexible programming to meet the individual needs of students.

Prison/correctional educators need to use their professional skills to devise instructional strategies adapted to the constraints of the institutional environment. The outline below provides an overview of the many elements prison/correctional educators might include in a program design.

1. Principles of Program Design
 - 1.1 Meet the needs of the learner
 - 1.2 Develop knowledge/potential and achieve goals in community
 - 1.3 Define role of educator - proactive not reactive
 - 1.4 Safety of the learner
 - 1.5 Safety of the staff
 - 1.6 Safety of the community (meets needs of society and community)
 - 1.7 Restorative justice -- overall justice theme

2. How to Design
 - 2.1 Student-centered
 - 2.2 Flexible program schedule
 - 2.3 With concept that ALL students can learn
 - 2.4 Interactive
 - 2.4.1 Balance achieved between individual and group work
 - 2.4.2 Feedback
 - 2.5 Standards & Accountability -- Benchmark
 - 2.6 Responsibility
 - 2.7 Supportive Environment
 - 2.7.1 Respect
 - 2.7.1.1 Self
 - 2.7.1.2 Others
 - 2.7.1.3 Culture
 - 2.7.2 Safety
 - 2.7.2.1 Student/learner
 - 2.7.2.2 Staff
 - 2.7.3 Enriching
 - 2.7.3.1 Multi-visual
 - 2.7.3.2 Content goes beyond the classroom

- 4.8 Relevant theory and practice

3. Methodologies
 - 3.1 Thematic
 - 3.2 Concrete/Abstract
 - 3.3 Sequential
 - 3.4 Experiential
 - 3.5 Individualized
 - 3.6 Scope of Content
 - 3.7 Group
 - 3.8 Community Service Learning
 - 3.9 Practical Application/Hands On
 - 3.10 Field Trips
 - 3.11 Teacher Modeling/Facilitator
 - 3.12 Peer Teaching

- 3.13 Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI)
- 3.14 Assessment & Evaluation
 - 3.14.1 Initial assessment
 - 3.14.2 Ongoing evaluation
- 3.15 Lecture
- 3.16 Structured
- 3.17 Accommodating Learning Styles
- 3.18 Life Skills Content
- 4. Mastery as End Product
 - 4.1 Literacy
 - 4.2 Vocational Skills
 - 4.3 Employability skills
 - 4.4 Self-Esteem
 - 4.4.1 Self-concept
 - 4.4.2 Self view/world view
 - 4.5 Learner develops appetite for lifelong learning
 - 4.6 Has tools for self redefinition
 - 4.7 Ethical basis
 - 4.8 Appropriate social/interpersonal skills
 - 4.9 Develop ability to learn
 - 4.10 Develop a sense of community service (citizenship)
 - 4.11 Mastery of emotional self control
 - 4.12 Behavior -- adaptability
 - 4.13 Accountability
 - 4.14 Demonstrate life skills competencies

While designing a program, always present in the minds of prison/correctional educators must be such questions as: Are the students able to generalize the skills that we teach in prisons? Are the skills applicable outside the institution? What are the values of society that we must instill in students so that they can reintegrate into society? How does education lead to a crime-free, productive life—a way out of poverty for some? Are there cost-effective and permanent ways of intervening in the lives of offenders?

Evaluation

The participants could be divided into two camps according to their attitudes towards the purpose of education. Broadly speaking, one group—into which many Europeans fall—takes the view that the goal of education is to develop the whole person and that developing the whole person means paying special attention to cultural, racial and ethnic sensitivities. The other group, largely participants from the United States, are most concerned with providing offenders with academic and vocational skills for use upon release into the community. Necessarily, the two groups also have differing attitudes towards evaluation. In the U.S., quantitative measures such as recidivism, employment upon release, and

program completions have been used. Qualitative measures such as self-actualization and improved self-esteem are more difficult to measure but conform more closely to the goals and objectives of European programming. Still, the participants were able to arrive at a certain measure of consensus about the importance and use of evaluation.

Both groups of participants recognized that evaluation should be an integral part of any attempt to improve the overall performance of our programs. Evaluation is essential to continued program improvement because it allows us to learn whether students are progressing and if programs are meeting student needs. It also allows us to know if we have accomplished our goals—both from the perspective of the individual student and the organization. Day to day school operations should be guided by ongoing evaluation which include student learner input on the quality and relevance of course offerings, and should also include input from teachers and administrators. The effect of the program may be seen in curriculum-specific areas, such as skills and knowledge; and in such qualitative measures as personal development/self esteem, and attitudes. Such qualitative evaluations can be difficult to perform, but not impossible. They might include student and staff interviews, student work portfolios, self-assessments and measures of reduced disciplinary problems.

Recidivism studies were viewed as both important (since they measure how well our inmates do upon release) and as a threat (since recidivism can become a single measure of a complex task of which prison/correctional education is but one element). The group agreed that recidivism is widely accepted in the United States by correctional managers, public officials and many members of the general public as a very important measure of our success. With the recognition of their potential importance in the political arena, it was argued that properly designed recidivism studies may provide us with the evidence we need to protect education from politically-motivated attacks. Recidivism studies should be conducted by third parties with the specialized skills, resources and objectivity to conduct such research. There have been, however, quality research studies conducted from within correctional organizations.

It was determined then that evaluation designs which are theoretically grounded and move from simplistic aggregate measures of success to a more sophisticated multi-variate analysis of what works, for whom and when contributes significantly to an understanding of prison/correctional education. Program evaluation also should address transition, follow-up and aftercare, using a longitudinal model.

Evaluation Summary

Evaluation is necessary for two reasons: it tells us how well our programs meet the needs of our students and it allows us to defend our programs politically, but evaluation does not mean measuring recidivism only. Studies can examine both the quantitative measures of success for educational programs—measures like program completions and reading scores—and qualitative measures of success like social and personal adjustment. If it is important to use evaluation as a political tool, it is also important to use evaluation as a map,

showing us how to make our programs meet the needs of the whole person.

Educators are still wary of evaluation, especially recidivism studies. There is a real fear on the part of some educators that prison/correctional education will be judged solely by recidivism rates. While there is no doubt that prison/correctional education aids significantly in the rehabilitation of offenders, the effect of education cannot be judged solely by recidivism rates. Many other factors, such as an individual's substance abuse problem or unemployment rates at the time of the offender's release, can influence whether or not an individual returns to prison. Therefore, it is necessary for prison/correctional educators to learn about research and to make certain that research studies take into account the myriad factors which impact the recidivism rate. Evaluation, if done properly, can aid us both in the classroom and in the political arena, but we must understand how evaluation works so we can use it to our best advantage.

Conclusion

If one theme emerged over and over again in our discussions, it was the need to develop and maintain a holistic view of prison/correctional education and its place in our society. Prison/correctional education and the inmate students we teach are affected by society before, during and after an inmate's incarceration. As educators, we cannot resolve all of the societal issues presented to us in the form of an individual student, but we can do our part and we can ask that the inmate, the institution and indeed, the communities we live in, work to make reformation a possibility.

We as prison/correctional educators can and should:

- maximize the potential of individuals in criminal justice systems;
- minimize the damaging effects of incarceration by helping individuals cope;
- enhance the process of destigmatization and normalization, supporting the concept that prisoners are people;
- build the foundation for successful reintegration, transition and breaking the cycle of crime;
- create and maintain linkages with the community;
- act as a change agent in correctional systems;
- promote humanization of institutional cultures;
- build collaborative relationships within and among agencies and systems to promote positive correctional/penal practices, and
- provide the highest quality educational programs which give the offender with a way out of a life of crime, address the needs of the whole person, and teach accountability and responsibility for self and one's actions.

Cost Effective Corrections Program Options

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Abstract

*Prison job fairs are a new program initiative in federal prisons. It is patterned on the successful efforts of the Texas based Crime Prevention Institute which held such fairs in Texas correctional institutions for over five years. The Job Fairs bring real company recruiters into prisons and provide selected inmates with the opportunity to experience approximately five job interviews. These are considered *mock* interviews, since the companies are not required to offer jobs to the inmates interviewed. The purpose of the job fairs is to give inmates job interview experience, critiqued by professional recruiters, and to give companies exposure to the skilled labor pool available among prisoners. Since the inception of this new program on October 1, 1996, 43 mock job fairs have been held in 34 federal prisons. Over 2,000 inmates and 650 companies, education and community service agencies have participated.*

In addition to sponsoring mock job fairs, the inmate placement program branch (IPPB) has succeeded in establishing relationships with major companies to post their job openings in federal prisons on bulletin boards accessible to all inmates. Inmates, interested in any of the jobs, are encouraged to write directly to company designated contacts.

In addition, the IPPB is sponsoring the establishment of employment resource centers in federal prisons and the preparation of employment portfolios for releasing inmates. A Mock Job Fair Handbook and the IPPB's web page www.unicor.gov/placement are available to those interested in scheduling a mock job fair.

The IPPB is also reviewing the possibility of listing inmate employment resumes on Internet so that interested employers can offer post release interview opportunities to qualified inmates.

This new programs offer cost effective ways to provide realistic and effective job placement assistance to prisoners.

A Little History

Prison Job Fairs are not a new idea. However, they have been taking place only infrequently, and on a very small scale, for some years. Traditionally, prison job fairs were similar to those held in high schools and colleges and were designed to provide participants with information about potential job opportunities. This information format proved inadequate for men and women who have been incarcerated for long periods of time. They needed special help to reenter the labor market after long enforced absences. The Crime Prevention Institute, a Texas based non profit organization, decided, in 1992, to do something to address this special need. Robb Southerland, the Executive Director of the CPI, initiated a series of *mock* job fairs in selected Texas correctional institutions to provide inmates, within a year or less of release, the opportunity to participate in mock job interviews conducted by professional recruiters from companies doing business in Texas. Each participating inmate was scheduled for as many as five, half-hour interviews, during a day-long job fair. The first 20 minutes of each interview consisted of questions and answers and related dialogue which take place in any job interview. The last ten minutes were devoted to the recruiter's evaluation of the inmate's interview performance. Typical practical comments made by recruiters were:

"Your application was unreadable, you need to type it or get a friend who writes clearly to fill it out for you."

"You never smiled during the entire interview, and you avoided eye contact. You need to practice smiling once in awhile, and looking the interviewer squarely in the eye."

"You have a firm handshake. It made a good first impression."

"I liked the way you answered my questions, and the fact that you had copies of your GED and occupational training certificates handy was impressive."

"Your resume was well prepared and provided me with the necessary information about your education and job skills."

The fact that the companies were invited to participate in *mock* job fairs, during which no company recruiter had to make a real job offer, was a critical ingredient of the first Texas job fairs. Even so, only a handful of companies was willing to participate, initially. Based on these early, relatively small efforts, however, Southerland succeeded in obtaining a \$450,000 grant from the Texas Board of Criminal Justice to fund job fairs in additional Texas prisons. A two year renewal was made in 1995. By that time, the CPI's list of participating companies had increased to over 250. Wal-Mart, Motorola, IBM, the University of Texas, and ESSO were just a few of the companies involved. As the program grew, prison job fairs began to receive national attention, and, in August 1996, under the leadership of Marilyn Moses, program manager, the National Institute of Justice, published *Project Re-Enterprise: A Texas Program*. This NIJ focus report described the origin of the CPI job fair program and its growth since its inception in 1992. Shortly thereafter, NIJ sponsored a national conference, *It's Our Business*, in Austin, Texas, September 30-October 1, 1996. Company and corrections representatives from many states, including the Federal Bureau of

Prisons (BOP), attended this significant conference. BOP staff immediately recognized the potential value of the *mock* job fair experience, and a newly created BOP Inmate Placement Program Branch (IPPB) assumed responsibility for introducing mock job fairs, and related inmate employment enhancement programs, to the federal prison system.

Bop Mock Job Fairs

During its planning phase, the IPPB learned that several federal prisons had already held information-sharing job fairs. None included inmate interviews by company recruiters. In an effort to learn, first hand, from the CPI experience, the BOP contracted with that organization to conduct experimental mock job fairs in the two federal prisons in Texas, Bastrop (all male) and Bryan (all female).

A special evaluation report about the job fair at the Federal Prison Camp (FPC) at Bryan, prepared by Dr. Jane M. Tait of Development Systems Corporation, included the following :

- "On a scale of one to 10 with one the lowest and 10 the highest, inmates rated the program at 9.7.
- "...the program was rated a 9 (by the staff)
- "All employers responded yes to 'would you consider hiring ex-felons after the pilot experience.'
- "All respondents were willing to participate in...Fairs in the future. It was suggested that...Fairs be held two or three times per year..."

The report concluded with the observation that inmates' self-confidence and self-esteem were developed and expanded as a result of participation in the job fair, and that inmates became more aware of community based services and job opportunities.

Using the experience gained from participation in planning and carrying out the two BOP pilot job fairs, as well as that of the Crime Prevention Institute and the National Institute of Justice, IPPB staff prepared a *Mock Job Fair Handbook* and invited all federal prisons to use it to plan for local job fairs. The IPPB also established an INTERNET web page: <http://www.unicor.gov/placement>, to provide additional on-line information to anyone interested in this new program effort. Approximately 500 handbooks have been distributed to local, state and federal prison personnel interested in the program and, as of the last monthly count, over 600 inquiries to the IPPB web page were reported.

The response among federal prisons to the job fair idea was immediate and widespread. The Federal Corrections Institutions (FCI) at Greenville, IL, El Reno, OK, and Ft. Dix, NJ. held job fairs in 1997 and in early 1998. These pioneering efforts were followed by FCI Terminal Island, CA, in June 1998, and FCI's Peekin, IL, Petersburg, VA, Ft. Worth, TX, Sandstone, MN, FCI Cumberland, MD, Tucson, AZ, and FPC Lewisburg, PA, during the summer and fall months of 1998. Many other mock job fairs were held during the remainder of 1998 and the Spring and Summer months of 1999. As of the end of June 1999, 44 federal prisons held 34 mock job fairs that involved over 2,000 inmates and 650 compa-

nies and community education and service agencies. Some of the mock job fairs combined the information model with job interviews and, as a result, involved a hundred or more inmate participants. Several prisons, El Reno, Forrest City, Greenville, Lewisburg, Lexington, Phoenix and Sandstone, have held two or more mock job fairs.

One job fair was held at a BOP contract community corrections center (half-way house.) Several state prisons and regional county jails have also held both real and mock job fairs, with the assistance of the IPPB. In some cases, these were preceded by attendance, for training purposes, of one or more jail staff at a mock job fair at a federal prison.

Each job fair takes on unique qualities depending on its geographic location, institution population, security level and other local variables. El Reno, for example, collaborated with Redlands Community College to hold its first job fair in February 1998, and Terminal Island partnered with El Camino College for the one held June 9, 1998. Redlands Community College provided 16 hours of training in such subjects as resume writing, job interview skills, dressing for success, and job search and job retentions skills, and each of the 45 job fair participants was required to complete all the courses to be eligible to participate in the job fair, itself. One college credit was available for those participants who paid \$45. El Camino College provided a similar preparation program for 25 inmates who participated in the June 9, 1998 job fair at Terminal Island. This partnering with a local community college to prepare the participating inmates with resume writing and job interviewing skills has become a recurring model adopted by many federal prisons. FCI Dublin, at its job fair on June 30, 1999, adopted a completely new and interesting new approach. It scheduled group interviews of inmates by company recruiters in place of the more customary one-on-one interviews used by most of the other federal correctional facilities. FCI Dublin was able, by using this model, to involve 72 inmates rather than the usual 30-45.

Comments From the Field

The IPPB has received many letters from a variety of people who have responded enthusiastically to the new inmate placement enhancement programs. A sample follows:

"...please accept our sincere appreciation for presenting your Jobs for Inmates workshop....A number of facilities have requested the Mock Job Fair Handbook. I've received mine, and am making copies. It meant a lot to hear doable techniques and plans...to help our population create positive changes in their lives." *Maine Adult Correctional Education Task Force*

"...thank you for all your support and encouragement in putting on institution job fairs. Our first one, on April 14, at the MN Women's Prison in Shakopee, MN was a great success. We are now planning another one for the Ramsey County Workhouse in September..." *Wilder Foundation*

"Our contractors and staff alike were extremely receptive to your comments. you empowered and challenged conference participants to make a difference with new concepts and proposals." *BOP North Central Regional Community*

Correctional Center Contractor's Training Conference

"Received your handbook, ...Thank you and we are going to have a mock job fair this fall in the Atlantic County Justice Facility, New Jersey We hope to visit the one being held in Ft. Dix in September." *Atlantic County Justice Facility*

We have received nothing but positive feedback from the employer participants. One employer has called to discuss an offer of employment for one of the participants. Thanks again for your support" *Acting Warden, FCI Terminal Is.*

The inmates informed me that a number of them were strongly encouraged to apply for employment with several employers upon their release...Those employers include Bonded Motors, Xerox Corporation, Phoenix Engineering and Kinetic Parts Manufacturing; in fact Kinetic...has set up five interview dates for a number of soon-to-be-released inmates...This was an experience I shall not soon forget." *Director, Workplace Learning Resource Center, El Camino Community College*

Letters from Inmates

Word is spreading among the inmate population that they can benefit from participation in the bureau's inmate job placement efforts, not only by enrolling in release preparation programs and job fairs, but by carefully examining the lists of job openings posted in institution libraries and other specified places in the institutions. Several inmates who are returning to locations not covered by the so far limited number of job openings posted have written the IPPB to seek further assistance. For example:

"I would like information on job listings closer to Washington D.D., Maryland, and Virginia areas. I would like to have a position set up (if possible and if available) before I leave the institution." *An inmate at FCI Tallahassee*

"I will be released this October 19 and I was hoping you might be able to help me secure a good listing of employers.....I am interested in furniture manufacturer or cabinet making company in the Tuscaloosa or Jefferson County area." *An inmate at FCI Talladega*

"Please send me the names of companies that I can contact who are willing to employ released prisoners. I will be released in about nine months and am looking for any opportunities that are available." *An inmate at FCI Terminal Island*

"The inmate that requested this information (company names and addresses,) is from Dayton, Ohio and will be relocating to Southwest Ohio area." *Superintendent of Industries, FCI Morgantown*

We were able to respond to these and other similar requests by sending the inmates a printout of companies listed in the *America's Labor Market Information System (ALMIS)*, a data base of every employer in every city in the United States. The information lists not only the name and address of each company, but its telephone number, the name of a contact person, and the company's line of business. The inmates then have the responsibility to write to companies in which they are interested to ask about job opportunities, and perhaps to enclose their resume. The IPPB is encouraging each federal prison to establish an employ-

ment resource center staffed by trained inmates to provide on-site assistance to releasing inmates. Inmates could use the ALMIS since it is available on CD Rom disks and, as such, are not security risks.

The Expanded IPPB Agenda

Encouraged by the relative success of its early efforts the IPPB has broadened its vision and adopted the following program priorities:

- Recommending BOP policy to require all federal prisons to hold an annual mock job fair and to strengthen inmate release procedures
- Encouraging additional companies to post their job openings on federal prison bulletin boards
- Establishing procedures to ensure that all releasing inmates have an employment release portfolio
- Establishing procedures to offer releasing inmates the opportunity to place their resumes on Internet
- Providing assistance to institutions that decide to establish employment resource centers
- Training appropriate institution based staff to carry out inmate employment enhancement programs
- Serving, in cooperation with federal, state and local agencies, as a resource and information clearinghouse for inmate employment enhancement programs
- Fund evaluation studies of ongoing efforts to measure their impact

Work began almost immediately to implement these program goals and the following has been accomplished, to date:

Recommending BOP Policy

BOP standards for the operation of BOP contract Community Corrections Centers (CCC -halfway houses,) have been reviewed and a contract standard has been established to require a full time job placement counselor for major CCC's. (Those with 30 or more beds.)

Approximately 70 percent of all federal prisoners are generally transitioned through community corrections centers for three to six months at the time of their release, and they are required to find employment within two weeks after admission to the center.. Some come to the Centers without the documents (Social Security Card, certified copy of their birth certificate, a resume, copies of GED certificates and records of their work and education history, while incarcerated) to assist them in applying for jobs. Efforts are now in progress to establish the requirement that all exiting inmates have these documents in an employment portfolio. Policy to require all institutions to hold annual job fairs has been deferred pending additional experience with voluntary efforts.

Posting Job Openings on Prison Bulletin Boards

Seven companies have agreed to post their job openings on federal prison bulletin boards and efforts are continuing to enlist others. To date, the job openings

of two furniture manufacturing companies, a textile and a brush manufacturing company, a hotel chain, a soft drink bottling and a recycling company are listed.

The success of the job opening posting program was highlighted in a letter from one of the furniture manufacturing companies, dated June 5, 1998, addressed to one of its newest employees: "You may not be aware, but you are the first inmate (the company) has had the opportunity to hire through this new Federal Bureau of Prisons/private industry partnership. ...I...was pleased to hear good things about the work you are doing....Welcome and keep up the good work."

In a later letter dated June 10, 1998, the same company representative wrote : "So far we have received a total of four inquiries from inmates seeking work. ...I am pleased to inform you the first hire from this program has occurred. We have asked each (of the other three)to contact us shortly after they are released. We have provided them with company location information in an effort to match geographical preferences near family or friends who can provide support once released."

The IPPB has asked all the cooperating companies to inform the IPPB when they hire ex-offenders as a result of the job posting program and they have agreed to do so.

Employment Release Portfolios

The need for exiting inmates to have resumes, copies of their education achievement certificates, birth certificates and a social security card was underscored by the company recruiters during their job interviews. Many indicated they would not proceed with a job interview unless the applicant had a resume readily on hand. Proof of U.S. citizenship and a social security card were also viewed as essential. These realistic appraisals of employment readiness motivated the IPPB to work with federal prison staff to begin a major effort to ensure that all exiting inmates have an employment portfolio with the necessary documents at the time of release. It is anticipated that the employment portfolio will be required, by BOP policy, in the near future.

Posting Inmate Resumes on Internet

The IPPB is in the process of developing a pilot effort at three federal prisons to test the feasibility of posting the resumes of releasing inmates on Internet. These resumes would be available, like those of free world people looking for work, to employers looking for employees with particular qualifications. The program envisions interested inmates, within one year of release, preparing their resumes on computer disks which would be mailed to a company, that, by contract, would enter the resumes on Internet. Employer responses would be sent to a central point and forwarded to inmates in accordance with approved procedures. The three pilots will be funded by the IPPB, and if successful, the opportunity to place their resumes on Internet will be offered to all eligible federal prisoners at a nominal charge to cover the cost of the disk and the mailing envelope. It is anticipated that these pilot efforts will take place during the fall of 1999.

Employment Resource Centers

Efforts are underway to encourage federal prisons to establish on-site employment centers to assist inmates prepare for post release employment. The centers will be staffed by inmates trained to handle ALMIS information, provide the addresses and telephone numbers of motor vehicle offices in each state, help inmates prepare resumes, get copies of GED certificates, social security cards and other job related documents for inclusion in employment portfolios and other related employment enhancing services. An Employment Resource Center Handbook and direct assistance of IPPB staff is available to field staff interested in implementing this new effort. It is anticipated that inmates who now write to the IPPB in the BOP Central Office in Washington for job search information will be able to get that information locally.

Training Employment Placement Specialists

The Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 authorized the establishment of an Office of Correctional Job Training and Placement (OCJTP). This new office was created within the National Institute of Corrections and was mandated to encourage and support job training and placement services to both incarcerated and released offenders.

As early as 1995 the OCJTP initiated training programs for offender employment specialists. This program was directed primarily to state and local corrections staff whose job responsibilities included job placement of released offenders. Local and state probation and parole, as well as halfway house and work release center staff, were also eligible to apply for this training which took place at the NIC Academy in Longmont, Colorado. The staff of federal corrections agencies were also eligible for participation, but their expenses were not covered by NIC. The week long training covered:

- Reintegration and Transition
- Pre-Employment and Job Readiness Skills
- Job Development and Placement
- Marketing
- Community Resources and Coordination
- Job Retention

Participants came, generally in teams of two, from across the entire United States, and from such diverse agencies as state and federal probation services, state departments of labor, state and local departments of corrections, community correction centers, nonprofit groups that provided a wide range of services for released offenders, community and technical colleges, and county jails. IPPB staff have served as instructors focusing primarily on mock job fairs and the overall IPPB mission. NIC has announced the following training dates for 1999-00 and corresponding application due dates:

Seminar Number	Seminar Date	Application Due Dates
00-1301	Oct.17-22, 1999	July 19, 1999
00-1302	Feb. 6-12, 2000	Nov. 8, 1999
00-1303	May 7-12, 2000	Feb. 7, 2000

The IPPB also offered training for the Bureau of Prisons inmate employment coordinators August 30-September 4, 1998. This training was based, in part, on NIC's curriculums, but focused more heavily on mock job fairs, related release preparation efforts, including heavy emphasis on inmate employment portfolios, employment resource centers and transitioning to post release employment. A second training session took place November 30-December 4, 1998. Over 150 applications were received for both the first and second IPPB training sessions. Only 30 slots were designated for each. Based on this experience the IPPB has requested authorization to hold three training sessions in Fiscal Year 1999-2000.

Clearinghouse Services

The new IPP branch, in collaboration with NIC's OCJTP, the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Correctional Education, and the National Institute of Justice has undertaken to serve as a clearinghouse for information about inmate employment programs. This collaboration includes membership in a Working Group on Offender Job Training and Placement that meets regularly to coordinate various agency initiatives. In addition to a wide distribution of the Mock Job Fair Handbook, the IPPB has provided on-site and other assistance to both federal and state prisons and local jails that plan to hold mock job fairs and engage in related inmate employment programs.

Evaluation of Program Efforts

Many variables, often invisible to the researcher, contribute to human behavior and frustrate any outcome measurements. Successful recidivism studies, for example, which correlate prison programs with post release success, have required the most rigorous research standards, over extended periods of time, and have involved the commitment of major resources not readily available for most corrections research. In addition, there is a built in difficulty in all corrections research which requires the cooperation of ex-offenders whose fondest wish is to disconnect themselves from any part of the criminal justice system, particularly their former jailers. Correlating inmate employment enhancement programs with post release outcomes, particularly recidivism, will not be easy, if, indeed, possible. However, one result can be measured empirically, and immediately. Efforts by corrections staff to initiate and implement inmate employment assistance programs communicate to the men and women in prisons, that they will be released some day, and that programs are in place to help them get ready to return to their families and to their communities. And most important, the available help includes finding and holding a job. The presence of company recruiters in the prisons during job fairs, talking to the inmates and evaluating their job

interview skills on a one-on-one basis, as well as posting job opening lists, introduce an invaluable community commitment clearly evident to both the inmates and corrections staff. Five evaluations of mock job fairs by independent evaluators are now available for FPC Bryan TX, FCI Tucson, FCI Terminal Island, FCI Big Spring and FPC Phoenix.

Conclusion

The message is unmistakable. Many significant people are serious about connecting the released offender with a job, the terminal point of the corrections experience. The kind of hope this picture engenders may be the most cost effective option available to corrections managers and their community partners. These inmate employment program deserve serious consideration by serious people.

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Biographical Sketch

Sylvia G. McCollum is Inmate Placement Program Administrator for the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. She was education administrator for the bureau from 1975 to 1995, program and policy administrator from June 1995 to October 1, 1996 when she was assigned to her present position. Ms. McCollum is responsible for inmate employment enhancement programs. Collaborative efforts involve the National Institute of Corrections, the National Institute of Justice, the U.S. Department of Education, private companies and foundations, and many state labor, corrections and employment agencies.

Ms. McCollum completed her undergraduate work at Hunter College in New York City and her Masters Degree work at George Washington University in Washington DC. She has published widely in the fields of labor management relations, affirmative action, correctional and adult education, inmate employment enhancement programs and human concerns for offenders.

It Just Couldn't Have Been Our School: A Phenomenological Study of the Schooling Experiences of African American Male Inmates

Shandra R. Terrell

Abstract

This phenomenological study addresses the following question: What are the school experiences of African American male inmates like? Nine African American male inmates were interviewed regarding their schooling experiences. Interviews were recorded and transcribed to create a text and then themes were uncovered. Five themes which describe their schooling experiences were: We don't like being embarrassed, Feelin' like we're just the outside peeping in, We want to be cared about, and They were afraid of us and we were afraid of them. The final theme drew the preceding ones into an essential understanding of the lived experience: "It just couldn't have been our school." The final chapter presents what was learned by the researcher from the inmates and questions and issues that suggest additional research.

Coming to Research African American Males

This study examines the educational experiences of a segment of Americans that face distinctive problems in school and society: African American males. Our society is so deeply ambivalent about African American males that they are alternately dehumanized (remember the slave), revered (remember the athlete), ignored (remember the infant), imitated (remember the musician), desired (remember the lover) and despised (remember the criminal). These boys and men face nearly overwhelming odds against living a full, meaningful, and long life.

The barriers and pitfalls African American males face are reflected in their over representation in troubling categories. A disproportionately high number of them experience infant mortality, special education, illiteracy, poverty, school suspensions, school dropout, juvenile and adult arrest, homicide, incarceration and unemployment. These brothers face insurmountable obstacles. We turn to a closer look at their presence in schools and prisons.

Too Little School, Too Much Incarceration

African American males are less likely to thrive in school than their European American counterparts. Conversely, they are more likely to be incarcerated.

School Troubles

African American youth account for a disproportionately high number of school problems and low academic achievement. African Americans constitute 12% of the American population. According to a recent report by the Children's

Defense Fund (1996), each day 444 African American youth between the ages of 16 and 24 drop out of school, while 1,689 European American youth do. One thousand one-hundred ninety-eight African American youth are corporally punished, while 1,639 white youth are. Four thousand four hundred four are suspended, while 6,674 white youth are. Conciatore (1989) and Garibaldi (1992) also reported that African American males experience disproportionately higher rates of suspension, expulsion, and discipline in school.

In Minnesota 59% of reported school suspensions involved urban African American boys and girls who make up only 26% of student enrollment of the state's urban schools (Minnesota Department of Children, Families, and Learning, 1996). The same report showed that African American students were suspended at three times the rate of white students. Why are they more likely to be suspended?

Poda (1992) analyzed the cause of African Americans' suspensions from the Milwaukee Public Schools. He concluded that 85% of the suspensions were for nonviolent behaviors like not following instructions, not having books, refusing to do homework and similar violations. Were these youth aware of the norms and expectations? Were they unable or unwilling to comply with school expectations? Did they believe they were complying, but teachers did not? Were these behaviors acts of resistance against norms and expectations? Students who made threats, assaults, and harassment accounted for 11% of the suspensions. What do these suspensions mean to the students and the schools? What are their consequences?

Other researchers (Foster, 1976; Hanna, 1984; Mancini, 1981) have found that a large number of African American male students are suspended for culture specific behaviors including playing the dozens, rapping, wearing sagging pants, and wearing hats backwards. They further found that these African American youth are also more likely to challenge a teacher if they feel that they have been disrespected. Are these acts of defiance or just teens doing what teens do? Are these suspensions a result of culture? Why do youth display these behaviors at school?

A study (Garibaldi, 1991) conducted in New Orleans in 1987 on the educational status of African American males found that they were disproportionately represented in almost all categories of academic failure. Eight hundred seventeen out of a total of 1470 first graders who failed to be promoted to the second grade during the 1986-87 school year were young African American males. Failure starts early for these children and haunts them until they leave school.

Hare (1987) explains academic failure of African American youth from his study of ethnic group identity. For the youth who identify failure and negative experiences with school, there is a tendency to shift from seeking support from school to seeking support from peers. If school-related issues constantly reduce self esteem, there is a human tendency to turn to more esteem-building activities. Hare believes that youth who seek support from peers tend to view popularity, sports, and sexual activities as most important, and although they receive short-term approval from their peers, there is a danger of long-term, negative consequences. Such negative consequences manifest themselves with an increase of crime and teen pregnancy. Hare views this situation as school-system induced, and it results in loss of legitimate job opportunities for African American youth. He believes that their situation is a result of negative schooling experiences, generally caused by incompetent teachers and little to no parental control. Hare contends that these youth are vulnerable to a peer culture that provides positive responses to counterproductive behaviors that increase their egos.

In a study that analyzed African American males' responses to schooling, Polite (1994) concluded that many of them were poorly educated and were not prepared for postsecondary education. The school dropouts in his study were prone to in-school truancy, engaging in a drug sub-culture, and exhibiting aggressive tendencies. Polite also stated the youths felt that there was a lack of caring from both white and African American teachers.

Corporal punishment, suspensions, dropout rates, and academic failure sketch a bleak future for a large number of young African American males. Without adequate education and skills they are unable to find meaningful, well-paying, career-oriented jobs. A large number of them are selecting illegitimate sources of incomes instead (Majors & Gordon, 1994).

Kozol (1991) suggests a startling relationship between school failure and incarceration. He found that the Office of School Safety in the New York City Schools purchased two sets of handcuffs for each of their 1,000 schools. His stinging assessment was that, "handcuffs ... may be better preparation than we realize for the lives that many of these adolescent kids will lead" (p. 118). Handcuffs at school create a strong image linking schools and the criminal justice system.

Incarceration

African American males are incarcerated at disproportionately high rates. In 1983, even though they represented only 6% of the population, they represented 43% of the federal and state prisoner population in the United States (Garibaldi, 1991). In 1990, the number of African American men under the criminal justice system exceeded the number of them enrolled in college (Mauer, 1990). In 1995, African American males represented 49% of the federal and state prisoner population (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1995).

African Americans constitute less than 2% of the population in the state of Minnesota. Yet according to the Minnesota Supreme Court Task Force (1993) on Racial Bias in the Judicial System (Minnesota Department of Human Services,

1993), Minnesota has the highest rate of incarceration per capita of African Americans in the nation. Within the State's correctional system, 21% of all juvenile inmates, and 34% of all adult inmates are African American males (Minnesota Department of Corrections, 1996).

While education neither causes nor prevents incarceration, I'm mindful that failure to complete high school lessens a child's positive life options. Most inmates have not completed high school, and only a small percentage have completed college (Halasz, 1993). In New York City, 90% of the male inmates of the city prisons are dropouts of the city's public schools (Kozol, 1991). In Minnesota, 38% of all adult correctional inmates are school dropouts (Minnesota Department of Corrections, 1996). Even in corrections education classes, African American males constitute a disproportionately large number of literacy and GED students. This discussion regarding African American males provides some insight into their school troubles. However, by no means is it suggesting that schooling alone is responsible for their problems.

Formulating the Research Question

As I considered what research topic to select, I knew that the research should focus on those experiencing severe problems in school and on something I care deeply about and know about. I decided that there is a clear need to focus research on the educational experiences of African American males.

The following questions recurred to me as I read and thought about these brothers. Why are African American males disproportionately represented among dropouts, school suspensions, and special education classes? What are their schools like? What type of schools do they attend? What is school like for these individuals? What are their relationships with teachers and friends like? How are they treated and what do they learn about themselves and others? What lasting lessons about life do they learn in school? What does going to school mean to them? What are the roles of their parents, communities, and teachers in influencing their academic achievement? How do existing stereotypes of African American males affect their academic achievement? And, do their educational experiences in correctional facilities mirror those in other places?

Inmates were selected for the study because of the large percentage of them who are school dropouts. I reasoned that they were likely to have been less successful in and less well served by schools. What kinds of stories would men whose paths lead to prison tell about friends, teachers, and learning at school? Perhaps they can tell us about school as we seldom hear it. What is it like to be punished, excluded, and suspended? What is special education like? Perhaps they can tell us how they and their friends thought about succeeding and failing in school. They might have had limiting socioeconomic backgrounds. They might have sought positive support from their peers rather than school. Perhaps their parents were not actively involved in their education. We can learn much from African American males about school if we pause to listen to their experiences.

The research question I settled on for this study is: What are the school experiences of African American male inmates like? The purpose of the study is to

gain a deep insight into their lived experiences in schools.

Coming to Care about African American Males in Schools

My understanding of African American males is based on having an African American male child, a father, brothers, and nephews. I have observed the constraints placed upon them due to the combination of their race and gender. Fortunately, they have had successful educational outcomes. My understanding of African American males is also based on my experiences in attending school and church with them, teaching them in Sunday school, living around them, and my personal relationships with them. I have also taught African American males in secondary, postsecondary, and correctional facilities. But, I am interested in the lived educational experiences of all African American males from different segments of society.

As we consider the outcomes we want for our youth and their subsequent contributions to our society, I believe we must place a high priority on education. I believe that the philosophy of educators should be consistent across all students in that we must have high expectations for everyone. We must equip African American males with the tools to graduate from high school. We must prepare them to pursue higher educational opportunities or good jobs in the workforce. They can be contributing members to society as good citizens, workers and family members. But to prepare African American males for these roles effectively, we must care about them and their lives. I recount here how I have come to care about their schooling.

Being the Mother of an African American Male Child

My son was born at 1:47 p.m. on a Thursday. The next day, I was allowed to hold him. Immediately, a strong feeling of overwhelming love connected us, and I felt compelled to protect him for the rest of his life. It was at that very moment that I decided to complete my bachelor's degree before he started the first grade. I said softly and confidently, "I will work hard to provide a good life for you." He moved as if he understood. His grey eyes sparkled. "This is a special baby," I thought. He was perfect to me. He was beautiful. The connection and love between him and me originating at childbirth have never been broken. He is a well-rounded young man, who is concerned about the welfare of others.

I wish I could allow him to be more carefree—carefree to the extent to which white teenage boys are allowed to be. But, I'm afraid to let go. He and I have had many conversations about my being too protective. Sometimes he doesn't think that I trust him, but I explain that I trust him completely. It is the rest of the world that I do not trust with him. He isn't aware of how the rest of the world views him, and explaining that to him will be very painful. Perhaps that is the reason that I delayed the conversation about how society views African American males. It is the world's problem, yet the world could make it his problem. I'm proud that he is developing normally, growing, and maturing. But, I am afraid—afraid that his height and voice changes are problematic for other people. How will they treat him as they come to view him as an African American male teenager?

My Son Being Labeled "Monkey-Like"

As I have observed my son's reactions to various situations and shared his joys and disappointments, I have closely analyzed his experiences in school and their relationship to personal ideologies of teachers and other particular aspects of society. Before he started public school, I told him that if anyone said anything to make him feel bad, he should tell me so that I could help him deal with it. I became more sensitive to the educational experiences of African American males because of an episode involving him in school.

My son attended a rural, public school in Alabama, the same one that I attended for 12 years. When he was 11 or 12 years old, he started a conversation with me about Mrs. Flowers, his teacher, confusing him about God. When I questioned him further, it seemed that he understood some of her views to be entirely different from those that we believe within our church. Even though I thought that I had helped to reduce the concern he felt over the religious misunderstandings, he continued to talk. Here is my recollection of the rest of the conversation that took place:

My son: (Pacing in front of and watching me as I watched TV) Ma, what does monkey-like mean?

Me: (Immediately feeling anger and attempting to suppress my feelings)
Well, it could have different meanings to different people. Where did you hear that?

My son: Mrs. Flowers told me in front of the whole class to stop acting monkey-like, and I don't know why she said that to me, because the whole class was laughing and acting up, but she just picked me out of everybody else and said that.

Me: (Really angry now and still attempting to hide my true feelings). How did that make you feel?

My son: Well, I felt bad. Is that a racism word? When she said that, I felt like it meant something bad, because she was kind of laughing too when she said it.

Me: It was normal for you to feel like that. She should not have used that word to you. As far as I know, that word was used to imply that black people look and act like apes in a jungle. Many people would find it racist. Did you ask her why she said that to you?

My son: Yea. I told her that I wasn't the only person laughing so why was she talking to me. You can ask Rodd (his white friend) or anybody else. We were all wondering why she said that to me.

I felt my stomach ache with a strange sickness. He lowered his head, indicat-

ing shame as he told me this story and frowned as he mentioned the teacher's name, indicating anger. I shared his humiliation, anger and mistrust of his teacher. The term monkey-like implies uncivilized or primitive acts. To tell my son not to act like a monkey was to suggest that he was not fully human, that he was sub-human. We see in this offhand remark deeply ingrained racism thrust upon an 11 year old African American male by a white teacher. Even if children do not understand the subtle meanings or the origins of such phrases, they understand when words are denigrating, especially when they are said with sarcasm.

I met with the principal and objected to the monkey-like statement. That meeting was followed by another, this time including Mrs. Flowers. I was presented with a series of disciplinary problems about my son which had not been brought to my attention until I complained about Mrs. Flowers' racist comment. The principal and Mrs. Flowers laughed and poked fun at my disagreement with their unprofessional conduct. Mrs. Flowers informed me that she was tenured, which I interpreted to mean that she was immune to my complaint. Our discussion was wide ranging and included my noting my expectation that my son would attend college. She told me that my son did not need to go to college. This story is indicative of how teacher expectations may be formed about African American students prior to teachers getting to know them and despite children's potential. I became much more aware of parents' inability to and their fear of speaking up for their children. I also became more sensitive to teacher-student power dynamics. While my son did not speak up to his teacher about the name-calling, some African American males might have challenged her and might have been suspended for doing so. This episode taught me to care about what other African American males experience in school.

My Cultural Awakening

I was rarely involved in conversations at home or in my integrated high school that centered on black-white issues. It was as though my parents and teachers sought to protect me, my siblings, and other students from the pain of discussing unpleasant issues. Unfortunately, avoidance of talk about race may have led me away from focusing on problems within the African American community and may have created a discomfort when dealing with those problems. I had attended a white undergraduate institution and during that time I had never heard of a study directly devoted to African American issues. Instructors and students tended to talk around racial issues, so few opportunities existed for me to consider race either as it is lived or conceptualized. As a result, this silencing led to a false premise that race relations were good. An exception to my silence was my speaking up during a marriage and family class when a student indicated that more African American women have babies out of wedlock. When I stated that all unmarried women tend to get pregnant at the same rate, but most caucasian women decide not to give birth to their babies, the room became totally silent and still. The professor, a white male, seemed to appreciate my outspokenness because he followed up with statements to back my assertion.

I attended Tuskegee University, a historically black university in Alabama, for

my master's degree. I became immersed in discourse about the plight of African American males while at Tuskegee. In some of my classes, students were conducting studies and projects that focused on problems African American males face. For her thesis, one colleague conducted a study about the life experiences of African American male adolescents. A male colleague looked at issues involving mentoring African American males. At the same time, my sister, a graduate student in a white institution, wrote a paper on African American males and academic achievement. I began to ponder the school problems of my friend's African American son and of other young brothers with whom I attended high school. I became concerned about the educational experiences of African American males and recognized the need for additional research in this area.

The strong consciousness about problems within the African American community permeated one particular research class at Tuskegee. I remember vividly one presentation where an African American male discussed his literature review. The statistics were startling. He introduced us to a metaphor: the African American male as an endangered specie. I was devastated that the status of African American males was such that the term would be used to refer to them. "I have an African American male child!" I thought. I became more aware of the issues of young boys in our community who seemed to walk through life aimlessly. What is to become of them? This was another lesson in coming to care about African American males.

Learning to Care About African American Males Through Doctoral Coursework

The year that I spent at Tuskegee University lead to my awakening to issues relating to African American males. But, sometimes it is essential to step out of one's environment in order to better understand it. Following that awakening, the Ph.D. coursework at the University of Minnesota provided in-depth understanding of social and philosophical issues in education as they relate race, class, and gender. The coursework provided the impetus for applying a holistic perspective to research about African American males. This section will focus on some of those courses, concepts, and issues. They include my introduction to different research methods, critical pedagogy, history and philosophy of education, tracking in education, and social efficiency.

The research studies in my masters program at Tuskegee primarily focused on positivistic research methods. Through courses at the University of Minnesota, I experienced a paradigm shift. I now see the ultimate purpose of positivistic research to be control. In the social sciences, that means control over the social world. In contrast, interpretive research shows us that individuals construct meaning from their experiences and critical science research shows us that they can emancipate themselves from limiting conditions. A course in interpretive and critical science research was an integral part of my selecting phenomenological research to allow African American male inmates' voices to be heard.

Through other courses, I began to understand my son's experiences by way of concepts such as dominate and subordinate cultures and false consciousness. I

have found that some of the values and beliefs of the dominate culture have been assimilated by the African American community; this may be a coping mechanism for some. Individuals who allow themselves to be assimilated tend to be unaware that the negative, oppressive views the dominate culture holds of African Americans can be internalized by themselves. As a result of hegemony, there is widespread blame in the African American community for individuals who have problems. This blaming is misplaced since America's capitalist system perpetuates inequalities in education, the workforce, and other facets of life (Apple, 1982; Giroux, 1989; McLaren, 1994). A false consciousness about the cause of problems exists because individuals uncritically accept the views of the dominate culture. This false consciousness is perpetuated through schools as when African Americans hear nothing wrong when a white teacher admonishes an African American child to quit acting like a monkey.

Studying education from historical, political, economic, and social perspectives gave me a new focus on issues relating to the education of African Americans. For example, I found that a society calling itself a democracy does not make it a democracy. A school curriculum that includes carpentry, horticulture, and cosmetology is not truly democratic simply because it offers students career choices. When students' choices are limited to preparing for lower paying, lower status jobs, then someone has made a calculated decision that those careers are best suited for the students and has restricted other choices.

Doctoral courses also increased my awareness of the impact of tracking in education. Class, race, gender, and power issues are a part of every classroom, and they are evident in the curriculum. For example, tracking in education largely effects people of color, especially those who are directed toward vocational education. Oakes (1992) points out that evidence consistently indicates that low-income minority students are receiving fewer and fewer opportunities for successful school and work-related outcomes once they are tracked. A university professor stated that, "If people in all walks of life would simply treat other people's children the way they treat their own, then we would not have all of these social problems." His statement made a profound impact on my understanding of tracking. Those who track other people's children into educational streams with undesirable outcomes, place their own children in streams where they expect better outcomes. Now I see more clearly that tracking can have a lasting negative effect on African American males in schools. The last example of learning in doctoral coursework to be noted here is, social efficiency in education which was central in the debate between David Snedden and John Dewey (Wirth, 1974) in the early part of this century. Snedden advanced the ideal of social efficiency which promoted the idea of educating individuals for their places in society. One of the basic tenets of this philosophy of education was that a student should not be taught knowledge which was not appropriate to his or her career or consistent with his or her ability. That ability was to be judged by others, not by the student. There was an assumption of pre-destiny and permanent status. In reflection, Mrs. Flowers' belief that my son does not have to attend college seems to exemplify Snedden's philosophy of education. I infer she

judged an appropriate career for him would not necessitate his attending college and that his ability precluded his success in college. Because of the widespread application of social efficiency, which is based on an assumption that some are inferior to others, I have concluded that our present educational system is not designed to promote equality. African American males are largely affected by these views. Unexpectedly, the study of abstract ideas in doctoral coursework nurtured my caring about African American males in schools.

Coming to Care About the Educational Experiences of African American Male Inmates

I view my time at Tuskegee University and the University of Minnesota as being comprised of lived experiences and learning about theories and philosophies that encouraged caring about the educational experiences of African American male inmates. While we should care about all students, the rates at which African American males are incarcerated (Mauer, 1990) are devastating and beckon my special attention. This is an alarming problem for those men, their families, the African American community and the nation.

If the economic conditions for many incarcerated men had been improved, they would have most likely had better living conditions and finer educational opportunities. It is likely that they could have made different choices in life that would have prevented their incarceration. Just as I and many other mothers are proud of our sons, an inmate may have been a proud mother's baby. Perhaps his mother wanted better educational opportunities for him, but she may have had negative educational experiences herself when she was in school. As a result, she may have been unable to assist him as necessary. Too little schooling and too much incarceration have dire consequences for African American males and brings me to care about them. I care about their experiences in school because I care about their future and their need to experience life to its fullest, just as other individuals would. I care about their ability to pursue a career, to help others, to contribute to society, and to provide emotional and financial support for their families. I also care about their stance as proud African Americans and their ability to recognize the importance of their culture and of transferring the importance of their culture to future generations. A solid educational experience is vital.

The impact of the rate of incarceration of African American males on society also brings me to care about their educational experiences. With so many African Americans males removed from the workforce, we will be facing serious problems in the future. It will be increasingly difficult to compete in the global economy when they are not contributing to their families through wages they earn. Their labor is needed in the face of a shortage of skilled workers in many states at the turn of the century. We also need to see them in upper management positions if we are to utilize our nation's resources fully. Understanding the lived educational experiences of African American males can assist us in our efforts to guide them and others into positive educational outcomes.

Understanding African American Males

The purpose of this chapter is to survey some of the context in which African American males live their daily lives. I will examine selected aspects of the social, historical, political, and economic environment which surrounded them in the past and surrounds them today. The chapter starts with reasons why we should view African American males' lives holistically and why we should listen to their voices. Then I address the persistence of racism across time, white constructed stereotypes of African American males, employment and economic discrimination against African American males, the Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois debate, and school experiences of African American males.

This chapter will also point to some coping mechanism which African American males have used to survive their daily trials and tribulations. Lastly, I will briefly comment on the research on African Americans. We turn now to why we should view African American males' lives holistically and listen to their voices.

Improving Our Understanding of African American Males' Experiences

Examining the educational experiences of African American male inmates is complex because of the multifaceted issues rooted in the history of individuals with African ancestry living in America. The commitment for carrying out this study was encouraged by the work of DuBois (1940) and Hill (1993). They postulated that conducting credible research on African Americans without examining their experiences holistically is impossible. By holistic, I mean here combined experiences as opposed to examining only a single experience or a single variable. Improving one's understanding of the lived experiences of African American males also requires one to listen carefully to African American male voices. They, after all, know most about their experiences.

Importance of Viewing African American Males Holistically

Looking at both external and internal factors can help us appreciate more fully the complexity of African American males' lives. According to Hill (1993), the major external forces affecting African Americans are (1) "social stratification—race, class, and sector, (2) racism—individual and institutional, (3) sexism, (4) birth rates, (5) sex ratios (6) migration—domestic and international, and (7) economic factors—industrialization, periodic recessions, and spiraling inflation" (p. 40). Some of these factors have reciprocal effects on each other. External factors can be seen as outside the control of African American males and as significant aspects of the context of their everyday experiences.

Internal factors include "persistent high rates of unemployment, crime, delinquency, gang violence, drug abuse, AIDS, and alcohol abuse" (Hill, 1993, p. 79). Internal factors can be viewed from the individual, family, or community level, but they are differentiated from external factors in that the actions of individuals can contribute to these factors occurring in their own lives. These factors seem to draw a lot of attention. Yet, a host of positive resources including churches and community organizations exist within the African American community. Beyond the community, there are resources such as extended school programs and fed-

eral and state programs which have enriched the lives of African American males (Logan, 1996). A holistic view of African American males takes into account the complex interactions of external and internal factors as one tries to understand them.

A specific example of the relationship between external and internal factors is seen in the link between poverty and poor school achievement. Taylor (1995) noted that the majority of students who have poor school achievement are products of low socioeconomic backgrounds. Often, there is only one income contributing to the family's needs and as a result the family is subjected to poor housing and schools and an increase in health problems (Gibbs, 1995). Researchers (Gad & Johnson, 1980; Lewis, Siegal, & Lewis, 1984; Myers, 1989; Newcomb, Huba, & Butler, 1981; Pryor-Brown, 1989) also indicated a link between low socioeconomic status, stressful life events and psychological problems.

African American male inmates are a subset of African American males whom we should view holistically. How we view inmates is complicated by our sense that they themselves may have been victims and at the same time they should be held responsible for their actions. Many inmates have received a poor education, have histories of having been abused as children, or are mentally ill. Yet, they perpetrated a crime against another. If we cling to a view of them as victims, we fail to note the action for which they should be held accountable; conversely, if we view them as perpetrators, we fail to see the antecedents that led to their crimes. Viewing them holistically opens the possibilities for seeing the infinite complexity of their lives.

Importance of Listening to African American Male Voices

The final reason that a holistic emphasis is important because African American males themselves can teach us much about their own experiences and beliefs; therefore it is important to listen to them. For example, in *Understanding Black Adolescent Male Violence: Its Remediation and Prevention* (1992), Wilson shared his beliefs that black-on-black violence has its roots in white-on-black physical and psychological violence. He further contended that such violence by whites produces hegemony within the black community because many are unable to understand why they carry such low standards for one another.

In his book, *Makes Me Wanna Holler: A Young Black Man In America*, Nathan McCall (1995) recalled his experiences with violence in school. McCall explained how he was harassed, intimidated and beaten by white students in a predominately white middle school in Virginia until his grades began slipping and his parents transferred him to the middle school in his community. He raised the point that these encounters occurred in the presence of white teachers who avoided contact with him and looked the other way as he was harassed and threatened by the white students. McCall's voice is important. Without it, we would not fully notice the teacher turning away—away from the child and away from the child being harassed.

In *Brothers*, Monroe (1988) pointed out the importance of the voices of African American males interviewed for his book. He wrote,

They have been as candid about their vices as about their virtues; they allowed us... to see them whole, as men, not statistics, with all the strengths, weaknesses, hopes, and vanities that are part of the human condition. (p. xii)

Monroe (1988) challenges us to understand the whole man instead of stopping at statistics. Understanding the whole man identifies their entire being. Their dedication and concern about contributing to Monroe's book are evident in their revelation of their strengths and weaknesses. Monroe's presentation of the voices of African American males is important because quite often, we only hear negative reports about them and his work helps us to envision what it is like to live their lives from their point of view.

In the introduction to *Soulfires*, Wideman (1996) highlighted the worries we have about African American male babies because of their potential as men to be among the disproportionately high death and incarceration rates of African American males. His words convey the anxiety of young African American males:

What happens when a generation in the yawning, bloody void between a young man and his nearest free, surviving male kin, gurgling innocently on his lap? What do you do when a 'generation' is the empty pit in your stomach, the lump that rises in your throat when you are holding a baby in your arms knowing the moment you put him down, if not sooner, you could lose him? What happens when 'a generation' is how much the evidence weighs, the evidence you must surmount to begin to craft strategies to insure a baby's safe passage through this world? (pp. ix - x)

Wideman's fears are rational as we consider the conditions that African American male children and men face in school and society. We must consider internal and external issues they face to fully understand what they tell us. Knowledge of the lived experiences of African American males may help us to understand realities associated with the frustrations and challenges they face. But, we must be willing to listen to them; to hear their perspectives. We must also be willing to learn more about their history in America.

Experiences of African American Males

The Persistence of Racism

Being the target of racism may be the most distinctive experience of African American males. It began in the 17th century when they were brought to this continent as slaves and will most likely endure well into the 21st century. Racism has permeated all aspects of their everyday lives: education, religion, work, recreation, family life, and citizenship.

In *The Education of Blacks in the South: 1860-1935*, Anderson (1988) related lived experiences of African American male slaves and the problems they endured while attempting to learn to read, when he stated that::

Thomas H. Jones, a slave in mid-nineteenth-century North Carolina, learned how to read while hiding in the back of his master's store. "It seemed to me that if I could learn to read and write ...this learning might, nay, I really thought it would point out to me the way to freedom, influence and real [sic] secure happiness." As he became more engrossed in his pursuit of literate culture and careless about concealing it, Jones was surprised one morning by the sudden appearance of his master. Having only a second to react, Jones threw his book behind some barrels in the store, but not before his master had seen him throw something away. The slaveowner assumed that Jones had been stealing items from the stockroom and ordered him to retrieve whatever he had thrown away. "I knew if my book was discovered that all was lost, and I felt prepared for any hazard or suffering rather than give up my book and my hopes of improvement." He endured three brutal whippings to conceal his pursuit of literacy. (pp. 16-17)

Racism is evident in Jones having to endure physical abuse to conceal his learning to read. In another story, Anderson stated that a slave had been put to death for teaching a slave-child how to read. The child was also beaten to make him forget what he had learned.

Another example of racism was embedded in the church. Many white preachers were instructed to give slaves catechisms to teach them that they were inferior (Martin & Martin, 1985). An excerpt from one follows:

Question: Who gave you a master?

Answer: God gave him to me.

Question: Who says you must obey him?

Answer: God say that I must.

Question: What did God make you for?

Answer: To make crop. (p. 27)

Finally, many believe that the biblical character, Cain was cursed because he was black. To them, being black is seen as inferior. Perhaps it is from that perspective that societal views of African American males are formulated. In what is believed to be the "first poetic protest in Black American literature" (Robinson, 1975), Phillis Wheatley furthered the belief that Cain was black.

Twas mercy brought me from my Pagan land,
Taught my benighted soul to understand
That there's a God, that there's a Saviour too.
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.
Some view our sable race with scornful eye;
"Their colour is a diabolic dye."
Remember, Christians, Negroes, black as Cain,
May be refin'd, and join th' angelic train (p. 60).

The landmark decision regarding *Plessy vs. Ferguson* in 1886 established the legality of the separate but equal doctrine. Racism was disclosed in Mr. Ferguson's experience while riding a train, an action that would normally be considered mundane. This case referred to the removal of an African American male from the front of the train to an area in the back reserved for blacks. The *Plessy vs. Ferguson* case and other laws regarding separation were based on race. Everything, according to Mahmoud El-Kati (1993) can be associated with race. He stated:

According to racist logic, all behavior can be attributed to "race." Individual ability or cultural achievement is accounted for by "race." African people are supposed to be more criminally inclined, less likely to value education, seek employment, care for their families; more prone to lie, cheat, or steal than Europeans—simply because of their "race." Black people are, in effect, less endowed to be decent human beings than whites. (p. 22)

He further believed that religion is one cause for the lack of positive traits attributed to African Americans. There are examples to support El-Kati's belief. In the debate between DuBois and Washington, DuBois pointed out the hypocrisy associated with Christians who supported industrial education while believing in the inferiority of African Americans.

Undoubtedly, slaves being taught catechisms that subordinated them, the belief that Cain was cursed because he was black, and the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision illustrate a connection between color and inferior treatment. They also point out the legacy of racism for African American males. When we read literature across the decades, we see evidence of the unnecessary experiences African American males face because of their race. The cases cited here are not isolated or idiosyncratic.

Racism persists in the everyday lives of African American males. Keith Watters (1995), past President of the National Bar Association noted in a statement on the World Wide Web that, "the Aryan Resistance Movement has declared 'war' on African-Americans, Jews and the United States Government." He continued:

Hate propaganda is more than mere words. It has inspired an atmosphere of hatred which has resulted in a significant and continuing assault upon the civil rights of African-Americans. We are witnessing a resurgence of violence not witnessed since the tumultuous 1960's. When we compare the 1960's to today, we see striking similarities. In 1963, Meger Evers was brutally murdered in Jackson, Mississippi. In 1995, a young Fayetteville couple, Michael James, 36, and Jackie Burden, 27, were shot five times in the head at close range as they walked down the street. It has been alleged that three U.S. Army soldiers with white supremacy views murdered the couple during a night of "hunting" for African-Americans.

In 1997, in Chicago, a 13-year-old African American male was beaten and left in a coma by three white, male teenagers for riding his bicycle through their

neighborhoods. His physical condition carried similarities with those of another African American male, Emmitt Till, who was murdered by whites. Fifty years ago, a black, male teenager was also riding his bike in a white neighborhood in Birmingham, Alabama when he was attacked by whites and killed. These horrible situations reveal the prevalence and persistence of racism, hatred and fear. African American males cannot go about their daily activities without racism imposing limitations. Stereotypes of African American males which are constructed by whites contribute to the limitations.

White Constructed Stereotypes of African American Males

The legacy of racism appears to have cast an indelible problem for African Americans and African American males in particular. Stereotypes about African American males have been largely constructed by whites and have caused emotional and physical pain and even death for these men. Images of the African American males as inferior, worthless, and dangerous have been constructed and may have even been assimilated into the minds of other races.

African American males seen as mentally inferior. Images of African Americans as inferior have been widespread in educational settings. In 1933, in the *Mis-education of the Negro*, Dr. Carter G. Woodson wrote:

At a Negro summer school two years ago, a white instructor gave a course on the Negro, using for his text a work which teaches that whites are superior to the blacks. When asked by one of the students why he used such a textbook, the instructor replied that he wanted them to get that point of view. Even schools for Negroes, then, are places where they must be convinced of their inferiority. (p. 2)

A number of other school books portrayed black people as mentally inferior and were designed to maintain economic and racial submissiveness through social values in books. Anderson (1988) pointed out that The American Tract Society of the American Missionary Association published *The Freedmen's Primer*, *The Freedmen's Spelling Book*, *The Lincoln Primer*, and the first, second and third *Freedmen's Readers*, each of which contained messages of racial inferiority and subordination.

In a contemporary study examining how African American male scholars achieved prominence, Willie (1986) interviewed five scholars. We find that even highly educated African American males are viewed as inferior. The acclaimed psychologist, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark completed both bachelors and masters degrees in psychology at Howard University. His mentor, Dr. Francis Cecil Sumner, demanded high standards for his students. Clark was advised to pursue the Ph.D. degree. Yet, while doing so at Columbia University in 1937, the faculty believed Clark was inferior. Fortunately, according to Willie (1986), it did not hamper his progress. According to Willie:

Clark was able to move through Columbia rapidly because he found "no challenges at Columbia that were more challenging than the standards of Sumner." According to Clark, however, some professors at

Columbia were "surprised and amazed that a black could meet their standards and even surpass them." At Columbia he was invited to join Sigma Xi, and he ranked first among those who took the qualifying examination with him for the Ph.D. degree. The head of the program was "so amazed" that he summoned Clark to his office and interrogated him; he asked Clark to account for the fact that he had come out ahead of all the others who took the examination. "It was preordained that I would do well at Columbia when I studied for my Ph.D. degree, because of Sumner." (p. 49)

Why was high academic achievement by an African American man surprising for the white professors? Why would Clark's achievements cause him to be interrogated? Had Clark been white, would he still have been cross examined? Even Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. with both a theology degree and a Doctor of Philosophy degree and Colin Powell, whose intelligence was disclosed in his leadership of the armed services during the Persian Gulf War were viewed inferior to hold public office. In other words, despite their intelligence, African American males as a group have been viewed mentally inferior across time.

African American males treated as worthless and less than human. There are countless examples of society's view of the worthlessness of African American males in research and in popular literature. Anderson (1988) shared the following statement by a former slave: "Why, we were no more than dogs! If they caught us with a piece of paper in our pockets, they'd whip us" (p. 281).

In *Bullwhip Days* (1988), former slaves told of a life that resembled death itself and a life that encompasses constant fear, inner rage, physical and mental pain, and worthlessness. According to one of the slaves:

One time, one of the slaves was helping Mistress there in the yard, and he passed too close to her, as he was hurrying fast as he could, and sort of bumped into her. She never paid him no attention, but Maser saw him...he called that poor Negro to him and took him out in the pasture, tied his hands together, throwed the other end of the rope over a limb on a tree, and pulled that Negro's hands up in the air to where that Negro had to stand on his tiptoes. And Maser, he took all that Negro's clothes off and whipped him with that rawhide whip until that Negro was plumb bloody [sic] all over. Then, he left that poor Negro tied there all the rest of the day and night...hat was one of the sickest Negroes you ever saw, after that....and Master was whipping him all the time...(p. 235)

Like most slaves, this man was treated worse than an animal, as though he was of no use or value to anyone or anything. In another example, Lulu Wilson reminded us of how slave owners distorted the truth about emancipation for their own gain. Her story also indicates slave owners' lack of care or concern for the slave children.

My step-paw lowed as how the Feds done told him they ain't no more slavery, and he tried to p'int it out to Wash Hodges. Wash says they's a

new ruling, and it am that growed-up niggers is free, but chillun has to stay with they masters till they's of age. (p. 326)

In this passage, we are reminded that not only were slave owners creating their own rules, they were separating parents from children. When this separation occurred, the children lost their only source of love and comfort. They were left alone to survive in a world where they were viewed as both a source of labor and worthless as animals being taken to slaughter. In fact, the institution of slavery guaranteed a constant fear of being slaughtered. There is evidence that African Americans are still viewed as worth less than others. Kozol's (1991) conversation with a doctor at the Cook County Hospital in Chicago illustrated the view that African Americans are worthless permeates hospitals. Kozol wrote:

In explanation of the fact that white patients in cardiac care are two to three times as likely as black patients to be given by-pass surgery, he [the doctor] wonders whether white physicians may be "less inclined to invest in a black patient's heart" than in the heart of a "white, middle-class executive" because the future economic value of the white man, who is far more likely to return to a productive job, is often so much higher. Investment strategies in education, as we've seen, are often framed in the same terms: How much is it worth investing in this child as opposed to that one? Where will we see the best return? (p. 116-117)

Worthless is defined as without worth, use, value, dignity or honor (Webster's Dictionary, 1988). How did society come to the point where a person's worth is determined simply by race?

African American males as dangerous. A University of Chicago sociologist, William Julius Wilson, told Monroe (1995) that the image of Black men is one of threat and danger. Are they viewed as dangerous because they are stereotyped as hyper-sexed? African American males are believed to be preoccupied with sex and the fulfilment of their role as a lover. This view, according to Gary (1981), is a racist conception. When we remember Emmett Till and Mack Charles Parker, we see a connection between the white racist conception of African American men as dangerous and the consequences for African American males. Ladner (1995) expands further:

I had grown up in an era that I once dubbed the "Emmett Till generation" because it was in 1955 that this fourteen-year-old boy near my own age was lynched in Mississippi for allegedly whistling at a white woman twice his age. Three years later Mack Charles Parker would be dragged from the Poplarville, Mississippi, jail and lynched for allegedly raping a white woman from Hattiesburg, my hometown. Over the years the Jet Magazine cover photograph of Emmitt Till's grotesque body after it was pulled from the Tallahatchie River would haunt me and countless black youths of my generation who eventually found their places among the ranks of black student civil rights activists ... (p. ix)

Lingering effects of Emmitt Till's murder for other African American males are painful. Dr. James Comer (1988), an African American physician and educator

commented on his and other African American males' reaction to the incident in Maggie's American Dream. He commented:

Simmering resentment exploded one day during my second summer [in college]. The black men were absolutely furious. They had heard about Emmett Till's lynching. They'd talk about it a few minutes, and somebody would pick up something and throw it across the room. One banged his hand repeatedly on a locker. I ached in the pit of my stomach. (p. 169)

Because African American males are as viewed as dangerous and violent, they are stereotyped as innately criminal. Black-on-black violence is thought to be explained through these stereotypes. But understanding the violence that African American males inflict on each other must be placed in the context of violence that has historically been perpetrated against African Americans by whites. In *Understanding Black Adolescent Male Violence*, Wilson (1991) expressed the idea that the origins of Black-on-Black violence are "rooted in and reflective of the sociocultural, politicoeconomic past and contemporary history of America" (p. 6). Wilson believed that because social scientists have failed to place the cause of Black-on-Black violence in this context, it has led to the stereotyping of young Black males as "innately criminal." He attributes physical and psychological violence to the lived experiences of African Americans:

The physical and psychological violence of White America against Black Americans which began with Afrikan [sic] slavery in America has continued to this moment in a myriad of forms: wage slavery and peonage; economic discrimination and warfare; political-economic disenfranchisement; Jim Crowism; general White hostility and Klan terrorism; lynching; injustice and "legal lynching," the raping of Black women and the killing of Black men by Whites which have gone unredressed by the justice system; the near-condoning and virtual approval of Black-on-Black violence; differential arrests, criminal indictments and incarceration of Whites and Blacks, etc.; segregation; job, business, professional and labor discrimination; negative stereotyping and character assassination; housing discrimination; police brutality; addictive drug importation; poor and inadequate education; inadequate and often absent health care; inadequate family support, etc. (p. 7-8)

Wilson further believed that the American society is "crimogenic" because of the denial of the violence against African Americans and asserted that the original sins can be "atoned for, restituted, reparated and forgiven" (p.8). However, any denial of the crimes against African Americans only leads to a slandering of African American culture and the blaming of them for their oppression.

Dangerous connotations of African American males are stressful for them as well as those who attempt to protect them (Wideman and Preston, 1996). As Rohan Preston (1996) indicated, there are glaring differences between the way African American males and white males are viewed:

And as teenagers, wayward or not, we are treated as adults. Where a thirty-something Neil Bush, the son of ex-president George Bush, is called "a kid" by commentators after he is implicated in serious shenanigans in the failure of a savings-and-loan institution, young Black men are never afforded a childhood, or innocence, or the benefit of the doubt (introduction).

The image of the African American male as dangerous has increased in recent years and it carries over to the employment place. Monroe (1995), included the following in his article, "America's Most Feared," from an interview with an African-American male:

"These incidents are almost an everyday occurrence," says an angry Black Los Angeles plumber, who once found himself surrounded by three gun-wielding Santa Monica police officers responding to a call about a "suspicious character." The call came from a neighbor who lived near an apartment building where the plumber had repaired a water heater. Detained for 20 minutes, the plumber was forced to let the officers examine his tools and then led them through a basement to verify the work he had done. Finally, satisfied, the officers made no apology for the mistake. "I spend more time calming people's apprehension than just doing my job," the workman says. "It eats at you, but you can't dwell on it or it will consume you." (p. 22)

African American males are helpless in eliminating stereotypes about them. Why does the worker carry the burden of calming people's apprehensions when his focus should be his job? How does it feel to discover that someone is afraid of you when you have no malevolent intent? Comer (1988) described another incident illustrating the reaction of a white female of an African American male:

Donald Perry was coming down the hill near our dormitory at dusk. He looked more like a happy-go-lucky Ichabod Crane than a "black, brute, rapist." But a white female student looked up and saw him coming down the path and ran away screaming. He was left standing there, saying, "Come back, little girl, I'm not going to bother you." He hadn't done anything. The stereotype was in her mind. (p. 162)

When we consider the difficulties African American males face in school and in society, one is left to question the impact of the stereotype in one's mind. The examples in this section illustrate the way African American males are viewed by some white people as inferior, worthless, and dangerous.

Employment and Economic Discrimination Against African American Males

Stereotypes and other expressions of racism impact African American males' status in the workforce. Many African American men were not educated as well as their counterparts and therefore they have been unable to compete successfully in the workforce. Hale (1994) believed that the shift from the industrial to the postindustrial era has left most African American males in a state of eco-

conomic disparity. Because they have received inferior or little education, they are unprepared for the higher skilled jobs (Hale, 1994).

The effects of slavery were not only psychologically debilitating, but also economically destructive for African Americans. During slavery African Americans provided labor for little or no pay. Many believe that America was built on the backs of African Americans, particularly males who were deemed strong enough to handle some of the most physically demanding forms of labor such as building roads and bridges, plowing behind a farm animal, or plowing without the power of an animal.

Jobs which require hard labor and low pay are viewed as synonymous with slavery among many African Americans today. Vocational education is seen as preparing students for physical work and low paying jobs, so it is not surprising that many African Americans disassociated themselves from any vocational training program (Anderson, 1988). It is important that vocational educators and educators in general are aware of this history in order to understand the stance of African Americans regarding education and work issues.

Early research (Weaver, 1946) regarding labor and economic challenges of African American males revealed the presence of discrimination in the workplace and in employment seeking. And even though they are equally qualified, employers tend to "statistically discriminate" against African American males versus white males in hiring practices (Ferguson, 1996). Ferguson elaborated on the impact of statistical discrimination:

Statistical discrimination is illegal and unfair to its victims. It gives each black male an additional burden of proof to carry: the burden of proving that he is an exception to whatever stereotype against young black males that the employer might carry in his head. (p. 93)

The unfair work-related treatment of African American males has endured for centuries. Earlier, industrial training in the south was heavily financed because of the economic value of African Americans to perform heavy labor such as cotton farming. Most of the major contributors of industrial training, including Tuskegee University's first major contributor, Andrew Carnegie, held this view (Anderson, 1988). The gap in income between African Americans and European Americans was enormous, but, for the most part went unchanged. In 1996, Ferguson (1996) reported that in 1975, there was a 8% difference in earning potential between black and white males. However, between 1988-92, a 16% gap existed for 23-35 year old males. Gaps in the median earnings of year-round, full-time workers revealed more than a \$6,000 difference between black and white males with high school diplomas. Allen and Jewell (1996) indicated that white males with college degrees also received higher earnings than black males with college degrees by over \$9,000.00. Income differentials are also attributed to educational differences. One issue fueling educational differences was a question of how African Americans would be educated.

The Washington/DuBois Debate

The historical debate regarding the education of African Americans between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois informs our understanding of the context of lived experiences of African American males. This debate is important because we see in it the persistent ideologies regarding the education of African Americans throughout our history in the United States. These ideologies were present and affecting African American males during slavery and the time period of this debate (the early 1900's) and are still affecting them today.

Samuel Armstrong, the President of Hampton Institute, was asked to select someone to become the president of a new school in Tuskegee, Alabama. As a graduate of Hampton Institute, Washington was selected, and the students at Tuskegee were taught in the same manner as Hampton's students. Anderson (1988) believed that Washington accepted Armstrong's philosophy of preparing black students for "their place" in society. For example, Hampton's industrial teacher training system consisted of an elementary academic program, work through industrial labor, and strict social discipline (Anderson, 1988).

The historical debate was fueled by DuBois' (1903) fight against this educational system and his belief that Washington's teachings contributed to deprivation and inferiority for African Americans and a decline in funding for liberal education for them. His beliefs were well supported. While it was acknowledged that white male youths were developing into manhood without the pressures and limitations African American male youths faced, one white Hampton instructor believed that the pressures African Americans faced could be endured if they believed in and accepted their inferiority (Anderson, 1988). These were Armstrong's beliefs which became the teachings at Hampton and, subsequently, were the beliefs Washington advanced.

In *The Economic Development of the Negro Race in Slavery*, Washington indicated his tremendous gratitude toward white men for helping the "Negro." Anderson (1988) noted that Washington believed that whites' Christian beliefs would transform their views of the Negro, while DuBois noted the hypocrisy associated with whites' Christian beliefs and their treatment of the Negro.

The individual lived experiences of Washington and DuBois may have contributed to their differences in opinion regarding how blacks should be educated. For example, Washington had been a slave and was vocationally educated at Hampton, while DuBois received a liberal education from Fisk, Berlin and Harvard universities. Although in later years, when social and political conditions were not improving for blacks, Anderson (1988) believed that Washington still supported industrial education as the means to make those social and political improvements since vocational schools continued to be generously financially supported.

Lived experiences no-doubt influenced their initial beliefs, and lived experiences may have brought about a transformation in Washington. Williams (1997) suggested that Washington's beliefs advanced through three stages that paralleled views of African American nationalists. Washington viewed Africans as being "primitive barbarians," then as contributing to "world civilization," and

finally believed that "Ethiopia was the disseminator of knowledge to West Africa" (p. 211). We see the change in his views, in *Selected Speeches* (1932), where he spoke about how the Negro is viewed as inferior by whites. Relating such inferior beliefs to school funding discrepancies, he noted the following:

There is sometimes much talk about the inferiority of the Negro. In practice, however, the idea appears to be that he is a sort of superman. He is expected, with about one fifth of what the whites receives [sic] for their education, to make as much progress as they are making. Taking the Southern states as a whole, about \$10.23 per capita is spent in educating the average white boy or girl, and the sum of \$2.82 per capita in educating the average black child. (p. 282)

This passage indicates a bolder, more cynical Washington who realized that Negro children were not deemed worthy of funding equal to white children. Despite the inequitable education they received, Negro children were expected to maintain academic progress equal to white students. Perhaps he accepted the fact that the wealth he thought would accompany industrial education for Negroes would not necessarily bring equality and justice as he had previously believed. But his comments on higher education indicated a larger change in his beliefs about the hypocrisy of industrial education supporters, a change that echoed DuBois' philosophy years earlier. Washington continued,

If the amount of property devoted to Negro higher education were at all proportionate to the number of Negroes in the population of the country, they would have for their higher training about one hundred million dollars invested in property instead of the twenty million dollars which they now have. (p. 282-283)

In previous years, Washington may not have addressed equity in education funding. But, we see that his way of thinking changed. Washington continued to call attention to the level of cooperation needed to make Negro education equal to whites, but he still did not encourage integration (Anderson, 1988). Was he acquiescing to the separate but equal doctrine or did he believe it was important to maintain historically black colleges and universities for some intrinsic reason? Whatever the case, Washington illustrated his belief that education should be the same for "Negro" children as for Caucasian children.

In Washington's last speeches, there is a spirit in his words that intimately connects with DuBois. This connection reveals to us that despite their known differences, they had one main commonality: their love for African Americans. Washington (1932) stated:

At the present rate it is taking, not a few days or a few years, but a century or more to get Negro education on a plane at all similar to that on which the education of the whites is. To bring Negro education up where it ought to be, it will take the combined and increased efforts of all the agencies now engaged in this work. The North, the South, the religious associations, the educational boards, white people and black people, all will have to cooperate in a great effort to this common end. (p. 283)

In this speech, he was clearly more concerned about equal opportunity in education. In this instance, Washington's views paralleled DuBois', and DuBois may have been aware of Washington's transition. We see DuBois' respect for Washington illustrated in his refusal to allow their differences to undermine the contributions Washington made. In *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), he poignantly analyzed some of those contributions:

It would be unjust to Mr. Washington not to acknowledge that in several instances he has opposed movements in the South which were unjust to the Negro; he sent memorials to the Louisiana and Alabama constitutional conventions, he has spoken against lynching, and in other ways has openly or silently set his influence against sinister schemes and unfortunate happenings. (p. 250-251)

These quotations are important to point out because we learn much about Washington and DuBois as African American men. Historians rarely point out the somewhat amicable relationship between them as illustrated from the above quotation by DuBois. Most writers choose to focus on their disagreements.

When we examine the features of the debate, six themes emerge. The components of the Washington and DuBois debate included: (a) social efficiency, and social Darwinism, (b) lower class and inferior status perpetuated through industrial education, (c) democracy and citizenship, (d) political, social, and economic power, (e) unity and cooperation among Negro educational institutions, and (f) religion—or its hypocrisy as associated with slavery and injustices. These components were in large part, shaped by their lived experiences and the debate discloses the competing ideologies of their time.

The educational philosophies of Washington and DuBois are rooted in economic, and political ideologies. Views of the dominate culture heavily influenced the debate between them. While white philanthropists supported Tuskegee and industrial education for blacks, DuBois fought against "large sections of the black press, a cadre of black educators in small industrial schools, and powerful white politicians" (Anderson, 1988, p. 106), which entailed what Anderson believed was a determination to discredit DuBois and his supporters.

Issues of classism and racism of DuBois and Washington's day were so profound that they have endured. African American educators continue to experience difficulties as they attempt to influence to decisions about the education of African American children (Delpit, 1988). In her article, "The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People's Children," Delpit attributed such difficulties to issues related to the "culture of power."

The continuation of giving little credibility to African American educators to make decisions about the education of their children is evident in Delpit's article and the 1997 Ebonics debate in which the School Board in the Oakland Unified School District in California attempted to structure an English program for African American students. In that school district, African Americans comprise more than 50% of the student population, and 71% of Special Education students (Anderson, 1997). While the school board's program was deemed racist, what was racist was the mistaken belief that African American educators would teach

their children a form of English other than Standard English. This illustrates a largely African American group of educators being viewed as incapable of deciding how best to educate African American children. Almost a century after the historical Washington and DuBois debate, the issues Delpit presented in 1988 and the Ebonics debate revealed in 1997, illustrates the long lasting struggle for African Americans to define education for their children.

Coping Mechanisms and Survival Strategies of African American Males

Earlier sections included external factors which impact the lives of African American males and such stereotypes of being inferior, worthless, and dangerous. Learning about their coping mechanisms for these daily tribulations contributes to a holistic view of these males. To cope is to contend with the daily tribulations and to overcome them. As African American males go about their daily lives, it is much too stressful to constantly attempt to change how others view them. Developing coping mechanisms is a way to survive those problems on a daily basis and to find pride in being African American while dealing with the problems. To some, coping mechanisms or survival strategies may mean accepting the racism, the inferior and worthless treatment, and the belief that African American males are dangerous.

Research has shown that individuals differ in their ability to avoid consuming everyday stressors such as being viewed as inferior, worthless, and dangerous. Middle class African Americans tend to be more confident in their ability to effectively deal with the challenges of negative stereotypes. Conversely, individuals who are less confident tend not to take steps to help them deal with factors over which they perceive they have no control (Taylor, 1981).

Both internal and external factors affect the academic achievement of black students. For example, Houston (1988), found that cultural values, self esteem, locus of control, and intellectual development influenced suburban black students' achievement. Ford (1993), notes that black students in urban areas have an external locus of control and low self-concept and exhibit self-contempt. An examination of African American students in elite preparatory schools, unlike their urban and suburban counterparts in other schools had an internal locus of control and attributed their potential future success to hard work (Cookson & Persell, 1992). The students in the preparatory schools represent all levels of socioeconomic status, but the majority of their parents are doctors, lawyers, educators, and a small percentage of blue collar workers (Cookson and Persell, 1992). This supports Taylor's point that middle class African Americans are more confident in their ability to deal with negative stereotypes.

To help us effectively deal with young African American males, we can learn how older African American males cope with stressful situations. Young African American males are less likely to understand external stressors. As a result they find methods to cope. We may help them effectively deal with negative life situations if we have an understanding of their cultural and societal expectations. Hall (1981) found the following:

The American culture and its subsocieties do not expect the Black male to exhibit emotions and feelings about his or his family's life situation and the dire impact that society may have on him when he tries to live up to these unrealistic expectations. 'A man ain't suppose to cry' is one of the cardinal rules governing the emotions of Black men; they are expected to illustrate manly strength and confidence. If the emotions of a man are restrained, how is he to express sadness, pain, loneliness, and isolation? Through the proper socialization process, Black men learn that activities conducted for recreational purposes can be and are an acceptable outlet for the deep-seated emotional and visceral feelings that they may have but feel prohibited to release. (p. 162)

Hall further revealed that African American men generally find a subgroup that allows them to defuse their tensions. Generally, that subgroup is experiencing similar problems and can identify with the need to vent, particularly in a supportive environment.

In his phenomenological study of the communication styles of African American males, Orbe (1993) found that regardless of their age, intelligence, or accomplishments, African American men believed that they will always be in a 'white man's world.' This view illustrates a coping mechanism for some African American males since their everyday lives are surrounded with experiences which confirm that view. Orbe concluded that:

One aspect of being an African American man in this society involves, as the old Negro spiritual declares "keeping your eyes on the prize." However, the sad reality is that "prize"—one created, maintained, and allocated by the dominant society—is one that forever escapes African American men. (p. 134)

Understanding and believing that the "prize" is "created, maintained, and allocated" by white people is another coping mechanism and was evident in Brothers. According to Monroe and Goldman (1988):

When opportunity revealed itself, a chance for success followed, and in 1969 Vest Monroe was on his way to Harvard after three years at a prestigious Rhode Island boarding school. "I was pleased that I was showing what black boys were capable of," Vest said. "Yet somehow, it seemed, attending St. George's made me a good Negro in their eyes, while those left in Robert Taylor [a housing project] were bad Negroes or, at the very least, inferior Negroes"...Vest had learned that being born black, no matter where he went or what he achieved, there would always be the inescapable fact of his blackness. When he finally went home to Robert Taylor, he knew he had never left. (p. 114)

In other words, even though an African American male may have excelled academically or professionally, he must remember that he is always just an African American man to those who view African American males as inferior.

For some, the term coping mechanism is used. For others, a stronger term, survival strategies is used. While survival strategies may be difficult for young

black males, strategies for overcoming the effects of racism can be found through the experiences of successful African American males. Historian John H. Franklin provided insight regarding his survival as a scholar in a conversation with Willie (1986). Dr. Franklin told Willie that in order to survive as scholar, "he must also survive as a man—as a black man . . . the black scholar must perform a dual role—practicing scholarship that adheres to the highest standards in the field, and advocating justice and equality" (p. 21). This dual approach, according to Willie (1986) will enable the black academician "to be heard as a scholar and to survive as a human being" (p. 21).

There is wide agreement in the African American community that one of the most difficult and dangerous situations for African American males to survive dealing with police officers. A white man may be allowed to verbally disagree with a police officer, but African American male's disagreement may be viewed differently by police and can be dangerous. According to Grier & Cobb (1968), "the child must know that the white world is dangerous . . . if he does not understand its rules, it may kill him" (p. 61).

Contending with challenging conditions at school; experiences with racism; being viewed as inferior, worthless and dangerous; being discriminated against economically and in the workforce; and the historical debate between Washington and DuBois sketch a partial, if not holistic, view of African American males. We note these experiences have caused many problems in the lives of African American males and that they create coping mechanisms in response to the problems. Research studies have attempted to identify the source of those problems and to formulate recommendations to improve their lives. Unfortunately, most of those studies conducted about African Americans and African American males in particular have been pathologically focused. That is, they have largely concluded that African Americans are abnormal and their own deficiencies are the sole cause of their problems. The studies usually only identify negative attributes and seldom identify the strengths of African American culture. We turn to a brief look at research on African Americans.

Research and Other Literature on African Americans

Early Research

A review of the literature reveals that most research regarding African Americans has been pathologically focused and does not consider the interrelationships of African American men and their social, historical, political, and economic contexts. Both researchers and consumers of research interpret findings and judge them or conclude that the human studies are normal or pathological. Pathological, the adjectival form of pathology means to be caused by disease, and refers to being disordered in behavior (Webster's II New Riverside College Dictionary, 1988). Most commonly used in the medical field, we see the application of it in educational settings as well.

Many studies have also been positivistic and do not view subjects in their social, historical, political, and economic contexts. The studies are anchored in the reality of the researcher who attempts to maintain a neutral, detached stance.

Recommendations for practice and policy regarding African Americans have been heavily influenced by this research approach. Thus, a multitude of generalizations and subsequent policy-driven initiatives about African American males may have done more harm than good because those generalizations were largely formed by detached researchers whose realities were different from the boys and men's who were studied and without consideration of their lived experiences from a holistic perspective. More is noted about positivistic research in a later section.

Two monumental studies (Myrdal, 1944; Moynihan, 1965) are examples of research that contributed much to the knowledge base regarding African Americans, but carry pathological connotations. In 1944, Myrdal published, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. This work was seen as the definitive scholarship on the condition of African Americans in America at the time. According to Myrdal (1944), "We assume that it is to the advantage of American Negroes as individuals and as a group to become assimilated into American culture, to acquire the traits held in esteem by the dominant white Americans" (p. 929). Myrdal believed that African Americans were inferior and believed the answer to their problems to be adopting the values of white Americans. This is a distinct example of pathologically-focused research in as much as the implications of Myrdal's recommendations are rooted in Ethnocentrism or the belief that white American culture is the ideal culture and that those who were not of the white American culture should strive to assimilate.

Though well-intended, Moynihan's (1965) work, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, sparked an immediate push by African American scholars to contradict all research that failed to see any strengths of African Americans. Believing that African Americans could not solve their own problems, Moynihan asserted that oppressive conditions had left African Americans in such distress that only a national effort could solve their problems. African American scholars sought to point out the strengths instead of weaknesses of African American families.

In 1968, the Kerner Commission Report described the United States as having two different societies, one black and one white. Perhaps the different perspective of scholars is one justification for the Kerner Commission's Report. But the finding that there are two different societies is relevant in the 20th century. Decades later, Hacker (1992) described the United States as having two separate nations in *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*. The research community is not isolated in the analysis of two separate nations in the United States. Pathologically focused research is commonplace. I am not suggesting that studies which identify problems are not useful. However, a review of the literature indicates that most research about African American males is indeed pathologically focused and therefore, collectively the literature is inadequate.

Recent Research

In order to understand what African American males tell us, an awareness of how others have found them to be is important. We have seen a plethora of studies focusing on African American males and their disproportionate representation in all of the wrong categories. Many of these studies are included in two bibliographies regarding research on African American males. One is Evans, & Whitfield. (1988) *Black Males in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography* from 1967 to 1987. The epistemological basis of the studies is largely positivistic. Studies are categorized in the following areas: psychometrics, experimental psychology (human), physiological psychology, communication systems, developmental psychology, social processes and social issues, experimental social psychology, personality, physical and psychological disorders, treatment and prevention, professional personnel and professional issues, educational psychology, and applied psychology.

The other text, Murry, V.M. & Winter, G. (1990), *Black Adolescence: Current Issues and Annotated Bibliography*, includes a multitude of research in curriculum, programs, and teaching methods; academic learning and achievement, classroom dynamics, student adjustment, and attitudes; special and remedial education; and counseling and measurement. It includes research on African American males and females.

Some of the studies found in these two bibliographies include those measuring achievement deficiencies (DeBord, 1977), class and race differences (Hall, Huppertz, and Levi, 1977; Marsh, 1975), and motivation (Hall, Merkel, Howe, and Lederman, 1986; Varadi, 1974). Many focused specifically on the role of the family, parental absence (mainly female-headed households) and its effect on academic achievement (Bowman and Howard, 1985; Fowler and Richards, 1978; Jantz and Sciara, 1975; Scheinfeld, 1983; Woodard, 1985). Some focused on academic achievement differences due to gender and race (Jones, 1984) and reading abilities (Doepner, 1975; Mangieri and Olsen, 1977). A great deal of research has been focused on non-intellectual factors and achievement (Ellis, 1975; Fordham, 1988; Grannis, Fahs, and Bethea, 1988; Hall, 1977; Sobota, 1969; Zlotnick, 1976).

The examples noted above illustrate the enormous number of studies about African American males which has been largely based on the physical science model of research. Unfortunately, research participants' voices are not heard in these types of studies.

Research Focused on Strengths in the African American Community

The early 1990's brought about a broadening in the epistemological bases of research regarding African American males and their opportunity to significantly contribute as co-researchers in studies. The works of Barnes, (1992) and Polite, (1992; 1994) allowed African American males to provide voice to research studies. There has also been a change in the assumptions some researchers hold about the pathology of African Americans. Some other work (Ghee, 1990; Lee, 1996; Mitchell, 1990; Turner, 1990; White Hood, 1994) about African American males

have not been as pathologically focused as earlier research and, instead, offered information on their strengths as well as problems.

African American scholars made major efforts to refute pathologically-focused research after Moynihan's (1965), *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* was published. Three years later, Andrew Billingsley (1968), wrote *Black Families in White America*, and then in 1992 wrote *Climbing Jacob's Ladder*. The latter book shows how African American families have endured from slavery to the 20th century. It builds on strengths of African American families and provides recommendations for those working with African Americans to provide viable options for improving their lives. In the foreword to *Climbing Jacob's Ladder*, Giddings points out that "even poor, inner-city black families are far from the monolith that Moynihanian-influenced studies and television documentaries reduce them to" (p. 14). Another source, *Black Self-Determination*, by V.P. Franklin (1984) documents experiences of African Americans relative to black unity, resistance, and freedom. Anderson's (1988), *The Education of Blacks in the South: 1860-1935* brilliantly illustrates how blacks pursued education despite the challenges posed by politics, power, and ideology.

Other works which focused on strengths instead of weaknesses and on empowerment strategies include: *Strengths of Black Families* (Hill, 1972); *Strengths: African American Children and Families* (Hilliard, 1982); *The Black Community: Diversity and Unity* (Blackwell, 1985); *The Toughest Assignment: Empowering Our Children* (Doherty, 1992); *Maggie's American Dream: The Life and Times of a Black Family* (Comer, 1988); and *The Black Family: Strengths, Self-Help and Positive Change* (Logan, 1996). Wideman and Preston (1996), offer a collection of poems and essays by African American males that beautifully presents their voices and strengths. The contributions these authors provide are immeasurable. Collectively, they illustrate strong kinship bonds and work orientation, the importance of religion and education in the African American community and self-determination in meeting goals and coping with life's challenges.

Summary

This chapter presented background information regarding the lives of African American males so that lived experiences may be better understood. A holistic approach to research was emphasized to avoid a focus on only one aspect of their lives. Research which gives voice to them helps us understand their experiences from their perspective. In this chapter, we noted African American males' experience with racism, how they are viewed as inferior, worthless, and dangerous and their experiences with employment and economic discrimination. Next, the historical debate about the kind and purpose of education for African Americans between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois was highlighted. The chapter also described some coping mechanisms African American males use to survive these negative experiences. Finally, the chapter included information to illustrate how research about African American males has evolved since the 19th century. Most of the research was pathologically focused and blamed African Americans for their problems. However, the chapter also noted that we are be-

ginning to see research which focus on strengths in the African American community.

My broadest purpose here is to provide background information to improve our ability to understand what African American males can tell us. Hopefully, this improvement will strengthen our care and our ability to work them in educational settings.

Investigating Educational Experiences of African American Males

This chapter describes the processes used to investigate the lived educational experiences of nine African American male inmates. More specifically, the chapter provides an overview of the methodological approach, phenomenology used to conduct the research. It also includes how I oriented myself to the phenomenon of investigating their lived experiences, selected participants for the research project, obtained descriptive accounts of their lived experiences, analyzed and developed the four themes and determined the relationships among the themes. The chapter concludes by highlighting the usefulness of this research.

Phenomenology

This research study is interpretive and uses phenomenological methodology. Phenomenology is rooted in the work of 19th century German philosophers of Husserl, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer in Germany, Kierkegaard in Scandinavia, and Sartre, Ricoeur and Merleau-Ponty in France (Hultgren, 1989).

Van Manen (1990) describes phenomenological research as the study of everyday lived experiences and the meaning we construct from them. A phenomenological researcher questions the experiences of the world and wants to know the world as we live in it. By researching, questioning and theorizing the way we know the world we attach ourselves to it and better become a part of

that world. Therefore, phenomenology becomes a caring act (Van Manen, 1990).

Phenomenology always seeks to find out what an experience is like (Van Manen, 1990). As I gaze on African American male inmates, I question what their experiences are like. What is the everyday life of African American males in school like? Are their experiences different from others'? How are their school experiences similar to their lived experiences outside of school? How do they describe their favorite teachers? How do they describe their favorite subjects? Answers to these questions help to gain insightful descriptions of their experiences. Phenomenology does not provide us with conclusions that can be generalized and used for purposes of predicting and controlling African American males in schools. Rather, phenomenology will bring us closer to an understanding of their experiences.

For many, this methodology is a new way of thinking. But, according to Van Manen (1990) phenomenology is also old:

It is new in the sense that modern thinking and scholarship is so caught up in theoretical and technological thought that the program of a phenomenological human science may strike an individual as a breakthrough and a liberation. It is old in the sense that, over the ages, human beings

have invented artistic, philosophic, communal, mimetic and poetic languages that have sought to (re)unite them with the ground of their lived experience. (p. 9)

As I conducted this research I found out what meanings African American male inmates gave to their experiences, then I expressed them in phenomenological writing. Van Manen calls this a poetizing activity.

Phenomenological research is about understanding the participant's experiences from his or her perspective. The researcher's experiences and perspectives must be thoughtfully acknowledged and then put aside so that learning can take place from the participant (McClelland, 1995). Furthermore, the concern of phenomenological research is "with subjective constructions of realities" (Srinivasan, 1989), not an objective reality. Regarding the African American male inmates, I sought to uncover and reflect their subjectively constructed reality regarding schools.

Assumptions about phenomenological research and the educational experiences of African American male inmates inform this study. Four essential ones are (a) African American males have constructed their meaning of school in a racist, cultural context, (b) the inmates will truthfully share their experiences, (c) the inmates seek meaning in their lives and (d) multiple realities exist regarding the education of African American male inmates. These assumptions are based on writings (Hultgren, 1989 and Van Manen, 1990) about phenomenology.

In order to grasp and portray the African American male inmates' reality, it was essential that I, the researcher, and the inmates have some shared experiences. According to Srinivasan (1989) "the act of interpretative research envisages an elusive yet powerful link between the precategorical reality of the researcher and of the respondent regarding the topic of research on hand" (p. 68). My lived experience as an African American woman and as a mother, daughter, sister, aunt, friend and cousin of African American males and my knowledge of theory intermingles with the educational experiences of African American male inmates in a potentially forceful way. We share the experience of having been African American children in integrated schools. This shared experience and my relationships with African American men was necessary for me to identify the main themes and to make them rich and relevant. In addition to shared experiences, I needed further orientation to the participants, setting, and phenomenon being studied.

Orienting to the Phenomenon

There were four main activities which helped me orient to the educational experiences of incarcerated African American males: (a) conducting a small project with university students, (b) facilitating a book discussion within the correctional facility where the research was conducted, (c) conducting focus group interviews at a women's correctional facility, and (d) working part-time in the correctional facility where the research was conducted. Because I was unfamiliar with correctional facilities, I made special efforts to orient to the setting and

participants as well as the phenomenon under study, the educational experiences of African American males.

Interviewing College Men

I interviewed three African American freshmen for a project I was doing for a class, nine months prior to beginning this study. Interviews about their educational experiences were conducted as a group discussion. The two sessions lasted two hours each. This small project was very useful because it provided an opportunity for the interview questions to be rehearsed. Their response solidified my judgement that relevant questions were being asked. The participants indicated that they were comfortable with the questions. The project was also useful because my interviewing skills were improved with the opportunity to practice. Specifically, I improved my responses, clarification, and follow up techniques. I was also able to practice using the cassette tape recorder and the transcription equipment.

The participants indicated that they appreciated the intent of the research study because no one had ever asked them how they felt about their educational experiences. They felt that I was concerned about their lives and their education. The participants eagerly responded to the questions with a great deal of meditation and care. This project was successful.

Facilitating a Book Discussion Group for Inmates

The second opportunity to orient to the phenomenon was my facilitation of a book discussion for inmates at a correctional facility. The initial contact was a discussion with the State of Minnesota Correctional Education Director. I was then introduced to and met with the Education Coordinator at the facility. Following our discussion, I met the warden and was asked to explain my interest in facilitating the book discussion group and conducting the research study. I was welcomed to join the facility as a resource volunteer and subsequently attended a new employee orientation. Later, I met the education clerk (an inmate) who assisted with screening the participants and participated in each session of the book discussion as well as the research study.

Flyers were posted throughout the facility to recruit participants to the book discussion group. Inmates were instructed to respond by sending a request form to the education coordinator. The final approval of their participation, based on requirements of the correctional facility, was made by the education coordinator. The inmates were chosen on the basis of their interest in participating in the book discussion group and their anticipated cooperation and conduct during the research interviews. Twelve copies of *Makes Me Wanna Holler*, by Nathan McCall (1994) were purchased by the State Corrections Department of Education Director and at the conclusion of the discussion group's work were donated to the correctional facility's library.

During the initial information meeting regarding the book discussion, most of the inmates were skeptical of my intentions, so building rapport was important. I made it clear that I hoped that this research could be shared with those who

work with my African American male child, their children and others. The following is an abstract from my journal written about the informational session regarding the book discussion and the explanation of the research study. The meeting took place on April 18, 1995.

My southern accent was detected immediately. Where are you from? one inmate asked. I smiled and asked him if he detected a different accent. Yes, so what part of the south are you from? he asked. I'm from Alabama. Oh, well I'm from Tennessee another one said. I'm from Nebraska, I'm from Montgomery, I'm from Arkansas. There seemed to have been an immediate connection and sense of comfort with me. I was concerned about telling them that personal side of me. Do I really want them to know where I'm from? The research would benefit from our having a trusting relationship. However, I must remember to draw the line.

One inmate asked a chilling question about African American students having problems with schooling in terms of the "white philosophy" and what they can get out of their classes. I interpreted the phrase to suggest that he believed that public school is based on white history and their values. He continued, I'm asking this because I barely graduated from high school, but I did not get anything out of the experience. They wanted me to be what they prescribed and did not encourage me to advance to higher level occupations. How do other African Americans view this situation? I admitted that I don't have all of the answers, but I could say that the experiences are different for different people.

Another inmate seemed to have a solid understanding of the psychology of racism and how white people view him. He said, sometimes if I am sweeping the floors, they will stand in my way instead of moving. I'm sure that they are just waiting for me to say, excuse me sirs, madams again and again. If I were to become agitated and say something in a mean tone, they can say see I told you that he was an angry black man. They pick situations to label you.

I told the inmates that I would be interviewing undergraduate African American male students and some professional men one day about their educational experiences too. They seemed happy that I wasn't just singling them out for a study. I pointed out that they are part of the whole picture. We seemed to have a good dialogue.

The fourteen inmates, approved by the educational director, and I met once a week for two hours April through June 1995 to discuss the book, *Makes Me Wanna Holler*. That experience reinforced for me the need to conduct this research study and my commitment to do so.

It was also helpful to have had conversations with my advisor and another professor about prison culture. The other professor had an extensive background conducting literacy programs in correctional facilities. She and I discussed par-

particulars about being a female in a male facility. We also discussed possible issues related to being an African American woman within the facility. It was helpful to have read *Makes Me Wanna Holler* since the author made comments regarding his life as an inmate and statements about female employees. In addition, the education coordinator as well as the warden discussed particulars about gender issues. For example, I was reminded that accepting gifts or small favors from inmates was in violation of facility rules. It was pointed out that accepting gifts would give inmates the impression that they could also request favors. This exchange of favors can quickly shift to a psychological dependence on each other and lead to contraband or other problems.

Conducting Focus Group Interviews with Female Inmates

A third process of orienting to the phenomena was my volunteering to assist with two focus group sessions at a women's correctional facility during the summer of 1995. This was helpful because I was able to observe interviewing techniques, questioning and re-questioning participants. During the first session, the focus group facilitator was late. I took the initiative to start the session by building rapport with the women. I explained the purpose of the focus group discussion, answered questions, and eased fears regarding confidentiality issues. My familiarity with the men's correctional facility significantly helped the process along according to the facilitator who had never been inside a prison. In turn, helping facilitate these sessions increased my understanding of what it is like to be incarcerated.

Working in the Correctional Facility

The fourth process of orienting to the phenomena was my working part-time in the correctional facility, coordinating a program and teaching where the research was conducted. This position was unrelated to the research and occurred following the completion of the book discussion. I was not viewed as simply a university researcher whose main responsibility was to interview them a couple of times, then leave. I frequently talked with the inmates in my study. If they had spoken about an injury or a particular concern, I would inquire about their concern the next time that I saw them. Our conversations were mainly related to the status of their educational projects. These mere chats (Van Manen, 1990) produced mutual trust which aided in the development of a sense of caring and an orientation to the notion of discussions about their educational experiences. These conversations helped to stimulate an interest in the research topic.

Selecting Participants for the Research Project

During the informational meeting of the book discussion group at the men's correctional facility, the inmates were informed about the length and number of the sessions. We also discussed rules for the sessions and the research study which I planned to conduct at the facility.

Regarding the research study, they were provided with the following information: (a) the study would take place upon approval by The Human Subjects in

Research Committee at the University of Minnesota and following completion of the book discussion, (b) their participation in both the book discussion and research study were optional, and (c) they would not receive any rewards for the study. However, I told them I would seek approval to provide certificates of appreciation for participation. I explained the methodology to them in lay terms.

Participants were identified from volunteers who participated the book discussion. Two others who were attending mandatory release classes during the time of the book discussions wanted to participate in the research study and were allowed to do so. Nine African American male inmates were selected to participate in the study.

The participants ranged in age from 21 and 55 years of age. Their educational levels ranged from junior high school dropouts to a college graduate. Their reading levels ranged from second grade to college level. It is unusual for an inmate to have a college reading level, but the oldest participant is serving a life sentence and has been taking college courses since his early twenties. Their sentences varied, but ranged from four years to life.

Van Manen, (1990) indicates that researchers conducting hermeneutic interviews notice that participants are intently interested in the research subject. The inmates selected for this study were concerned about learning more about their educational experiences. Some of them often spoke about wanting to do something to "help the little fellows," a phrase one inmate used to refer to African American boys. Participating in this study became a moral obligation to some of them. Meanwhile, as the researcher, I felt increasingly obligated to carry the project through to completion. The awareness of their level of interest and care and their trust in me to be their voice produced a friendship that strengthened the conversations. As a result, they were not just willing participants, but were coinvestigators. We were equally interested in carrying out the study.

Processes in this Phenomenological Study

There are three main processes in conducting this phenomenological study: (a) obtaining descriptive accounts of lived experiences, (b) analyze the text to reveal the themes, and (c) finding the relationships among themes and interpreting the themes to reveal a central theme.

Obtaining Descriptive Accounts of the Coinvestigators' Lived Experiences

Interviews were the means by which I obtained accounts of the coinvestigators' schooling experiences. The interviewing process took place September 1995 through April 1997, but no interviewing took place between September 1996 and March 1997. Those who know little about prison life may assume inmates are readily available for interviews, but in fact, they are not. Three coinvestigators in this group were being released by January 1996. Of these three, two were interviewed three times; one was interviewed four times. They were interviewed within a three month period to get their stories before they left the facility. Because the co-investigator who was interviewed four times was about to be released, he had difficulty focusing during the first two sessions. The two addi-

tional sessions were necessary to get a better understanding of his experiences. The remaining coinvestigators were interviewed over a longer period of time allowing for more thought and interpretation as I collected their stories.

Face to face, individual interviews were selected for this study because this approach is well suited to phenomenological research. Phenomenological interviews are conversational and the participants are involved in an interpersonal engagement (Polkinghorne, 1993) with the interviewer. Indepth interviews also provide each co-investigator the freedom and flexibility to tell their stories in their own words (Anderson & Jack, 1991). Flexibility is important in the interviewing process, yet it is also important to maintain the topic of the study (Van Manen, 1990).

My interviews had more structure than Polkinghorne (1993) would suggest. They were semi-structured because I wanted to be certain that all participants provided similar information. I also found most of the coinvestigators did not talk expansively. Rather, they required prompting and invitation to keep talking about their schooling experiences. Each interview lasted from one hour to one and a half hours. The interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed to create texts.

The interviews occurred in classrooms, the education coordinator's office, and the library within the Education Department at the correctional facility. Although there were other teachers and a guard present in the department, the interviews were private.

In order to facilitate a caring and trusting atmosphere before the interviews began, a general protocol was used. Each co-investigator was provided an opportunity to discuss any issues of concern. This allowed them to ventilate any concerns which may have otherwise prevented them from focusing during the interview.

Once the coinvestigators were oriented, I started the interviews. During the first interview, the following questions were employed to become familiar with their educational experiences:

- Where did you go to elementary school?
- Can you describe what the buildings, rooms, and playgrounds were like?
- What did you like most about that/those schools?
- What did you like least about that/those schools?
- What classes did you like and were you best at?
- What classes did you not like?
- Were you excited about school at that age?
- Do you remember what you wanted to be when you grew up at that age?
- What were your teachers like? Tell me about the ones you liked most.
- Tell me about those that you didn't like.
- How were you treated by teachers and principals? By other students?
- What was your most pleasant experience in elementary school?
- What was your most unpleasant experience in elementary school?
- Did you ever drop out of school?
- If so, at what grade?

Why did you quit going to school?
Tell me about your Junior High School.
What did you like most about that/those schools?
What did you like least about that/those schools?
What classes did you like and were you best at?
What was your most pleasant experience in Junior High school?
What was your most unpleasant experience in Junior High school?
Did you find Junior High School difficult? Why?

Spontaneous questions were asked to clarify their responses as it was necessary in the first interview. After the first interviews, I transcribed the tapes, read the texts, and then returned for second and third interviews. I asked questions to seek a deeper understanding of experiences such as the following: During our first interview, you indicated that you were embarrassed by the teacher when you threw up in the classroom. What did the teacher say to embarrass you? Can you describe how that situation made you feel?

When the themes were well developed, I returned to the facility in the spring of 1997 and was able to interview three of the coinvestigators for the last time. All the others had been transferred to other facilities, released, or were on work release programs. The three were interviewed individually. I checked to see if they agreed with the themes, if the themes expressed their schooling experiences. They indicated that they were accurate. This last interview allowed me to attempt a check of intersubjective agreement (Van Manen, 1990) although the number of coinvestigators able to respond was quite limited.

One more note about the tone of the interviews and openness to the phenomenon being studied. There was the need to open myself to the educational experiences of African American male inmates. The nature of their crimes, for example, is not relevant to understanding their schooling experiences. In fact, I did not seek information regarding their crimes nor information regarding their psychological profiles. They had trained therapists within the facility to focus on those areas. It is the essence of their educational experiences that is important in this phenomenological study. I asked questions with the same intensity of a parent who is concerned about their child's experiences. The coinvestigators knew my openness and my caring. Without my saying so, they felt and trusted that I care for them.

In an earlier section, I mentioned that one inmate was interviewed four times. When my advisor and I discussed his inability to focus and settle into a conversation, we decided that if the third interview wasn't useful, then I would not be able to use his interviews in the study. It was his recognition of my true openness that I believe was the turning point in our conversations.

During a conversation, he mentioned that he was raised in the church, was raised in a good family, and that he respected me as a woman. He repeated these and similar phrases several times. When I noticed that he was very nervous, I decided to ask him about his mother in an effort to demonstrate my sincere concern and to ease the tension I sensed he felt. In a previous conversation he had

mentioned that his mother suffered from high blood pressure and had been ill. I asked him how his mother was doing. He mentioned that he had spoken to her and she was feeling better. I stated that his name appeared to have been carefully selected by his mother and wondered if he knew the origin of his name. I continued to state that from my opinion, his mother loved him very much because she calls frequently. His eyes began to water. I noticed him fighting back the tears while talking for about two minutes. Finally, he broke down and cried. I was terribly surprised, but allowed him the release. He went on to say that even though he had asked for forgiveness for his crime, he was very ashamed. He was ashamed because his mother raised him the best way that she could. He agreed with me that she loved him very much. He told me about his crime; he had raped a woman. His inability to focus during the interview was based on his perception of my opinion of his crime. He was unaware that I did not know what his crime was. I acknowledged that I was not aware of the crime and that my focus was on his educational experiences. As a result of our open and personal exchange, his third and fourth interviews were quite rich.

Uncovering the Themes

The second process in the phenomenological inquiry is reducing the themes. According to Van Manen (1990), "Theme analysis refers to the process of recovering the theme or themes that are embodied and dramatized in the evolving meaning and imagery of the work" (p. 78). The themes of the coinvestigators' stories are the structures of their experience. A theme is the focus of a particular expressed experience or experiences. When the transcripts were read, a theme was developed from an understanding of the vernacular, their life experiences, and my care for them and the topic. Themes may be understood as a simplification of the larger process of initially reading the transcripts.

According to Van Manen (1990), there are three approaches to uncovering thematic aspects of a text: (a) "the wholistic or sententious approach, (b) the selective or highlighting approach, and (c) the detailed or line-by-line approach" (p. 92-93). The wholistic or sententious approach was used. The text was analyzed to determine what the themes were and the patterns that made up the experience. Developing the themes involved describing experiences that could not be captured in theoretical ideas.

A theme is not something that can easily or quickly be extracted from the transcripts. The process of uncovering a theme is tedious and requires much thought and decision making. What is recognized as a theme to one person may not be a theme to another person. There is a need to be immersed in the essence of the phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990) and to read and reread the text created from the interviews over and over in order to grasp themes.

An example of being immersed in the essence of the phenomenon occurred in October, 1995. I had interviewed and transcribed the tape of an inmate who discussed his early placement in special education. He felt that his choice of friends probably led him to prison and that he chose friends who were like him in school. Later in the interview, he indicated that his friends in special education classes

ended up being his friends in the streets. They skipped classes together, dropped out of school at the same time, and planned and executed robberies together. I did not see the significance of what he had told me until March 1996. At 2:30, A.M. one morning, I woke from my sleep and instantly thought about the contents of that interview. The inmate did not articulate it, but I thought the school placing him in special education in the second grade with other students with similar academic achievement, imposed a disadvantage on him. His experience seemed congruent with Hare's (1987) belief that, if the experiences in school are negative, youth will turn to their peers to find positive support. If his group was later described as a gang, then the gang-like comrade began in his second grade special education class.

More experienced researchers may have been able to grasp the connection sooner, but several streams of thought had to come together for me. In this example, knowledge gained from my lived experiences, the literature, and graduate coursework assisted in identifying the significance of this aspect of his lived experience. These streams of thought contributed to the development of the theme "Feeling Like I'm on the Outside Looking In."

The example cited above reflects a phenomenological quality identified by Van Manen (1990). There was a need to make sense of the lived experience of being in "special education with people who were just like me." Perhaps, the inmate unknowingly wanted to make sense of some of the factors that led to his incarceration. He was not aware of themes, nor the need to make sense of an experience in order to capture its essence. His part of this process was his willingness to reflect on his lived school experiences and to participate in answering interview questions. This is supported by his trust in me as the researcher to present an accurate summary of his experiences. Douglas and Johnson (1977) believe that the effectiveness of phenomenological research is evident when we find meaning in something that had seemed irrelevant earlier. In addition, they say "by doing this, we reveal meanings that are not actually apparent to the uncritical mind but which nonetheless are present at some other level of consciousness" (p. 282).

Rich interviews are important to create text where the essence of the experience can be grasped in themes. In the process of thematic analysis related to the example related earlier, I was struggling to understand what the experience of being "in second grade special education with people like me" meant to one African American male inmate. "Theme is the means to get at the notion" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 88) of what that educational experience was like. Getting to know the coinvestigators and knowing something about them increases the accuracy of the interpretation of their lived experiences (Hirsh, 1967).

I read the text created from the first three coinvestigators who were released early in the study and from the first round of interviewing the other coinvestigators. I listed 47 topics which I detected and categorized according to similarity and by individual co-investigator. The second round of interviews probed these topics.

Text from all the interviews were reread and reviewed. Some of the topics were redundant and were combined with other topics or became subtopics. Other

topics were unrelated to educational experiences and thus they were omitted (Lanigan, 1979). The four themes that were selected appeared consistently throughout my review of the grouped topics. Ultimately, the themes were determined by separating those that were not essential (Lanigan, 1979).

Finding Relationships Among the Themes

Finally, I considered the four themes, pondering their interrelationships. The intent was to determine how the themes connected and to identify a central theme that illustrates the connections. The latter is intended to "conjoin related concepts and ideas" (Orbe, 1993). The coming together of themes marks a turning point in conducting phenomenological research. For me this was a thematic connection; it indicated a central, interrelationship among themes. Prior to the thematic connection, the mere words in the transcripts were disparate and lacked significance. The transcripts were as perplexing as assembling pieces of a puzzle without a picture as a guide. The pieces of the puzzle are scattered and unconnected. Once those pieces are properly assembled, there is a sense of recognition and completion. The puzzle then represents a completed picture and perhaps tells a story.

The lived educational experiences of the nine African American male inmates were separate and scattered. Their experiences took place in seven different states and in various time frames. However, their experiences are connected in part by class, gender and race. What has emerged are themes that represent the wholeness of their experiences. Understanding the wholeness is central to understanding their being (Heidegger, 1962) in the world. While I experienced a sense of closure after the development and checking of the themes with some of the coinvestigators, there can be no finalization of reductions (Nelson, 1989).

Usefulness of This Research

The aim of phenomenological research is to bring forth an awareness of the vast array of lived experiences and to look for new possibilities (Hultgren, 1989). The participant's voice in their vernacular is instrumental in providing the awareness. As a result, professionals who want to help can be more focused and attentive to others who have similar experiences (Hutgren, 1989). Hopefully, this study can bring forth new awareness of how African American male inmates experience school. Perhaps I and others can become more sensitive to African American males in school. In addition, maybe public policy can be informed and even amended, so that we become more responsive to distinct situations (Polkinghorne, 1989) regarding the education of African American males.

Getting to Know the Coinvestigators

Imprisoned people are a population that researchers often study but seldom listen to. I was eager to listen to the coinvestigators because I believed that they had much to tell us about their experiences in school. The positivistic studies I found focused on African American males but did not tell their stories about school from their perspective.

I do not claim to have been free of hesitancy regarding entering the correctional facility. I understood that dangers lie within a medium security facility and that there would be some risk involved in studying inmates. For example, I had been pre-warned that some inmates are able to convince unsuspecting individuals to perform illegal acts such as carrying contraband into a facility and about how they prey on female employees. I was reluctant, yet I decided that there was important work to be done there. This decision was made after daily conversations with God, as I questioned my decision to conduct research in a correctional facility. Finally, a still voice reminded me that it was a thief who was the last person Jesus saved, while hanging on the cross. The same still voice reminded me of a biblical scripture that indicates our responsibility to remember the imprisoned.

As I entered the facility on the first day of the book discussion, I remember asking God for protection. I also remember asking that my interactions with the inmates and the data I collected would enlighten those working with African American males—that they would learn to work with these brothers with more care and concern. At that moment, I felt a shield of protection, protection that I felt each time I entered the facility. Though I was watchful within the facility, I conducted my research without fear. I do not believe the inmates detected fear and I believe that this was beneficial in my getting to know them and in obtaining rich data from them.

Extending Myself to Get Acquainted With the Coinvestigators

I paid special attention to how I would be in the prison. I tried to be clear about the study and my motives for conducting the research. They understood my concern for African American males, and they understood that their participation in the study could make a valuable contribution to the body of knowledge about schooling of African American children. Several indicated that they had participated in research studies prior to this one. However, it was understood that the findings of this study would be a result of their stories and would be presented in their words. Their understanding of the purpose of the research study increased their ease and comfort in participating. The latter made it easier for me to get to know them.

The first decision that I made increased my ability to get acquainted with the coinvestigators. I decided early that I would not find out what crimes they committed. The main reason for this was that I wanted them to speak without their fear of my judging them. I believed that a nonjudgmental stance was proper because they had already been tried and sentenced. This relieved them and made them more comfortable around me. I suspected that they would already be embarrassed by the fact that they were prisoners, and talking about their crimes could exacerbate it.

When they learned that I was from Alabama, several inmates indicated that an inmate who had just left the facility was from Alabama. When they called his name, I realized that not only did I know the man, we attended the same high school and grew up in the same community. That conversation and others we

had about people I knew who had gone to jail or to prison increased their comfort with me.

Another factor that increased my ability to get to know them was my effort to treat each of them with respect. I always greeted them by name and offered to shake their hands. I was sensitive to their schedules, i.e. dinner or other prior engagements. I attempted to keep the interviews less than one hour in length, but if they ran longer, I apologized. I made special attempts to remember specific information they shared regarding their release dates, family matters, or other important aspects in their lives. Remembering this information allowed me to follow-up as a matter of concern for them and they appreciated it.

In addition, I was aware of my status as a female and of the lack of African American female volunteers in the facility. I did not wear makeup or perfume into the facility. My manner of dress was rather conservative. If I wore dresses, they were not tight, short or revealing. Sometimes I wore jeans and big sweaters. We very seldom joked about anything unless they recalled something funny from their experiences. None of the inmates alluded to my sexuality. I felt respected by them. Respect for each other was important in getting to know them and of them getting to know me.

Being Sensitive and Listening is Key to Getting to Know Them

The opportunity to share their experiences rekindled their memories that had been buried long ago. Several coinvestigators indicated that they had not thought about specific incidences for quite some time. All of them indicated that no one had ever asked them about their experiences. For all of us, it was a journey, one that we embarked on with commitment. As I entered the facility as a researcher, I did not expect to become at times their friend, counselor, teacher, or advisor. My main role was that of a listener and a facilitator. In fact, I avoided offering them advice and reminded them of the resources available to them within the institution. Because they trusted my intentions regarding the research and were comfortable with me, experiences outside their educational experiences often entered the conversation. I believe that it was my stance as a listener that enabled them to recall memories and to discuss them openly.

The descriptions of the nine inmates who participated in this study, are based on my subjective view of their physical characteristics, personalities, school histories, and other distinguishing factors about them. Neither their psychological profiles nor their crimes are presented. They came from Tennessee, Illinois, Nebraska, Minnesota, Michigan, and Indiana. In many respects they were alike, and yet in significant ways they were unique.

Introducing the Coinvestigators

Co-Investigator Number One

The first inmate that I met was instrumental in helping to screen participants for the *Makes Me Wanna Holler*, (McCall, 1994) book discussion group. He is about 6'4 feet tall and weighs more than 250 pounds. His glasses made him look especially studious. We were introduced by the Education Director who shared

my intentions with him. I had never sat in a room with an inmate before and I felt awkward. I am embarrassed to say that I did not know quite how to relate to him. Although I was not afraid of him, I did not expect him to be as intelligent as he is. He is fifty three years old and has been incarcerated since the late sixties. He is serving a life sentence.

He contributed significantly to screening inmates for participation in the book discussions. I believe his judgements regarding participants for the book discussion were crucial to its success and subsequently to the success of the research study. After the first book discussion session, I noticed that one inmate never returned. During this session, he had questioned me somewhat abruptly about my motives for conducting the book discussion and alluded to the possibility that I might be collecting information to harm them. When I asked co-investigator number one what happened to him, he replied, "Well it was taken care of." I never questioned him again about it.

Several times during our interviews, I noticed that his answers were steered in another direction if they became too personal. It was a struggle at times to elicit information from him. His answers were often based on students in general, rather than his lived experiences. But when he did focus on himself, the data was explosive—it was rich. He is rather self-determined. This observation is based on the fact that he has written books, one of which is an autobiography he is attempting to publish. His talent extends to writing, music, plays, and a self-esteem curriculum that is used within the corrections education department. He also plays the saxophone and cooks dinners on holidays for other inmates. Staff and inmates within the correctional facility respect him and he is very cooperative. His efforts were a major contribution to this research study.

He is a high school and college graduate. I believed that he enjoyed learning, but he indicated that he would have to read something over and again to understand it. In elementary school he had attended an integrated school. When his family moved to the Midwest, integrated schools were new. He was in junior high and high school during the civil rights movement. He said that he knew that white people did not want him and his African American friends in the school. He often spoke about being physically punished in school.

Co-Investigator Number Two

The second inmate that I met participated in all of the book discussion sessions also. He was a short man with thick glasses and long hair that he kept rolled or braided. A distinguishing characteristic of his was that he constantly washed his hands. Several times after I shook his hand, he would excuse himself to the restroom. I believe that he would wash his hands. If not, he would appear uncomfortable during the interview until the conversation evolved to something of interest, which seemed to take his mind off his hands. His manner of speaking was slow, very slow. He had very little self-confidence. In elementary school, he indicated that he was a special education student. But in junior high school he was placed in regular classes. It was in junior high school that he decided to quit school because he could not read. Although his mother could read, his father

could not read and had quit school for the same reason. He indicated that his father gave him permission to quit school. As I listened to his experiences, I realized that frustrations he experienced in elementary and junior high school mirrored those in his correctional classes.

He only missed one interview. Although it was made up, he apologized many times indicating his desire not to let me down. He had missed the interview because he had to work. But I learned he was also very depressed that night and did not want to ruin the interview.

Co-Investigator Number Three

Another co-investigator who participated in all of the book discussion sessions was co-investigator number three. He was tall, thin and lanky. He wore his hair cut low and was from a southern state. His sneakers were torn and appeared to be very old; sometimes he apologized for his appearance. His teeth are crooked and bucked and he was in many fights as a child because children made fun of his teeth. This was a memory that still seemed to cause him grief.

His parents divorced when he was in the sixth grade. Afterwards, his mother, sister, and two brothers moved several times. Therefore, he attended three elementary schools. He believed they moved so many times because his mother could not afford housing. Being a new student at school was difficult for him, and other children were not especially nice to him when he was introduced to the class. Bonding with other children was important to him in school. He mainly tried to bond with them on the playground. He indicated that he managed to graduate from high school, but that his classes did not make sense to him. I sensed that his appearance and low socioeconomic status may have caused him to be a type of outcast at school. Even in prison, he seemed as though he did not fit with others.

I had four interviews with him. The first three were not productive because his answers were not coherent most of the time. Toward the beginning of the third interview, he broke down and cried as he told me about his crime. Although his crying made both of us uncomfortable, his confession placed him more at ease and, thus, improved the quality of the last interview. Because he knew that I was born and raised in Alabama, he questioned how I was able to deal with the culture of the Midwest. I sensed that he had many transitional difficulties when he moved there.

Co-Investigator Number Four

The next to the youngest of the inmates is about twenty-three years old and about six feet tall. A former high school basketball standout, he had a visible habit of sucking his thumb. I suspected that he sucked his thumb because his lips were puckered and sometimes during the interviews he would rub his thumb across his mouth. I never mentioned it to anyone. But one day, co-investigator number one asked me if co-investigator number four had ever sucked his thumb during an interview. He indicated that sometimes during class he would suck his thumb.

Of all the inmates I met at the institution, co-investigator number four was most clearly a kid. He told me that he was preparing to go to college on a partial basketball scholarship when he was stopped and arrested on a drug run to another state. "I knew better" he said. "I just wanted the money for clothes and a new car. Mama was doing the best that she could to keep me in good clothes, but I wanted more. I didn't need anything." When he explained his experiences of being bused from a predominately black school to a predominately white one, he also shared that sometimes when he acted out in class, it was because he was high. He graduated from high school and just a few months later was incarcerated.

He attended every book discussion session. Sometimes he left early to attend bible study. During the book discussions he was quiet, and it was a struggle to motivate him to participate. During the one-on-one interviews, however, he felt much more comfortable and talked freely. I appreciated his frankness during the interviews.

Co-Investigator Number Five

This young man is about 5'11" tall and wore his hair in a short, curl style. During our first interview, his conversation was completely self-aggrandizing. He managed his image carefully to show that he thought that he was a smooth operator on the street. He spoke with perfect grammar and indicated that he had previously owned several businesses. He still considered himself to be a smooth operator, even in the correctional facility. When I entered the facility, I was required to walk through the visitor's waiting area. Several times, I noticed that he was visited by a different caucasian female.

He had a middle class upbringing and had attended Catholic elementary, junior high, and high schools. His father died when he was in the fifth grade. Watching his mother grieve was devastating for him and he believed that his problems in school started during that year. In fact, he believed that his homeroom teacher was not sensitive to his suffering. In the eleventh grade, he indicated that his mother sent him to a rehabilitation center for smoking marijuana. He did not graduate from high school, but later received a general equivalency diploma (GED).

During our conversations, I was able to tell immediately when he was about to exaggerate because while doing so, he would laugh and smile. At other times, he would drop his head and frown; these were the times he was telling about difficult, painful experiences. For example, he remembered several instances when he was physically punished in school. He also spoke about the sexual contact initiated by a white, male teacher. These remembrances were no laughing matter. He had a great deal of respect for his mother. His descriptions informed me that his mother tried everything to provide a good life for her son. They lived in a predominately white neighborhood and he attended a predominately white school. He was well-dressed because he said that a teacher called his mother to tell her that she did not have to send him to school "all dressed up." His mother was still concerned about her son and called him regularly at the prison. Once while I was

there, his mother called him at work. Apparently he had not spoken to her in a while, because when he answered the telephone and discovered who it was, he said, "Mu dear!" This is short for mother dear. The phrase expresses deep reverence and love. I smiled because despite his near-perfect grammar, evidence of his cultural language pattern emerged during his excitement of hearing his mother's voice.

On my last visit to the correctional facility, I was told that he had been transferred to another facility. The transfer was not voluntarily. I suspected that he had seriously violated a regulation within the facility, and he had.

Co-Investigator Number Six

The sixth co-investigator was the youngest in the study. He was only 21 years old and was about 6'3" tall and weighed more than 200 pounds. He wore his hair in braids or sometimes platts. Although he did not participate in the book discussion, he was invited to participate in the research study by the educational director. He was a happy-go-lucky person who seemed to do lots of things, like poking, wrestling, or pulling pranks on other inmates. Everything was always a game to him. Before our first interview I noticed him attempting to persuade a guard to allow him to leave the facility prior to the set time. Another time I noticed him run and snatch a hat from another inmate's head. They began to play as children.

I expected to have difficulty keeping him focused during the interviews and that he would be loud and boisterous. But he was quite different on a one-to-one basis. Our interviews were rich and compelling. He was very focused and serious during the interviews. In fact, one of his comments became the central theme of the lived schooling experiences of all the men in the study.

As a child, he was arrested several times for violating city curfews by hanging out on the boardwalk in Atlantic City, New Jersey. "It was exciting over there," he said. He attended a training school for boys from ages eleven to sixteen. Teachers in the training school for boys taught him and cared about him more than teachers in the public schools he attended. After he left the training school for boys, he was invited to attend a school in another state, and he could have participated on the wrestling team. He decided not to go because he missed his family and wanted to go home. When he attempted to return to a public high school near his home, the principal would not allow him to attend day school. He quit night school after a few weeks because he "could not participate in school activities and it was boring."

He still had a dream of playing professional football. When I indicated that perhaps he should focus on continuing his education and deciding on a career, he said, "I don't know what I want to do."

Co-Investigator Number Seven

One of the four, thirty-something men in the group, he is tall, slim and wore his hair cut short. I found him to be rather straightforward. He passed his GED exam after three months of preparation. He was motivated because after his release, he wanted to be capable of taking care of his daughter. After he received

his GED, he enrolled in a computer programming course and was only a few courses shy of his computer programming certificate when the program ended. Despite this disappointment, three weeks before his release several job interviews were confirmed. He was very open about his experiences, and pointed out that he had not been responsible earlier. He credits coming to prison with helping him to settle down and to focus on positive things.

He indicated that he was an average student in school, but did not take school seriously. He lived with his grandmother during junior high school, but moved back home with his mother when he was in the ninth grade. His mother's boyfriend sold marijuana, and his mother and boyfriend allowed him to smoke it and drink beer at home. This was so he would not do so outside of home. He admitted that because of its accessibility, he gave marijuana to his friends at school.

Co-Investigator Number Eight

One of two Muslims in the group, this young man was medium-build and wore his hair cut short. He was seldom seen without a cap. Co-investigator number eight was a high school graduate. While incarcerated, he had taken advantage of the college course offerings. It was while taking those courses and interacting with the African American males who taught them or volunteered in the facility that he began to believe that he could make something out of his life. He credits prison with helping him to get away from the "craziness." He said, "I haven't seen one person get shot or killed here. At my school and at home, that was an everyday occurrence."

Once in elementary school, he was embarrassed for having dirty hands. From other conversations, I sensed that his parents were not involved in his education and he received very little care and guidance at home. This lack of care included the adult responsibility of assuring that he had clean clothes for school and purchasing items like soap and deodorant for his personal hygiene. He appeared to harbor a great deal of inner rage as a child and acknowledged that he fought a lot. He fought a lot until a principal told him to direct that energy into sports. He then participated on the high school track team that he believes kept him enrolled in school and out of trouble during that time.

During a conversation with my advisor, who visited the prison to meet the coinvestigators, he reminded us that inmates are no longer allowed to participate in the Pell Grant Program. He asked her if she would pursue the possibility of the University offering free credit courses in the facility. He is quite intelligent and was employed as an electrical assistant within the facility. Some of his courses included electrical engineering. During my last visit to the facility, I learned that he had been transferred to work release. Perhaps he has now been released to continue his education and seek employment.

Co-Investigator Number Nine

The last co-investigator is a high school graduate. He is of medium-build and wears his hair processed (term used to describe black men whose hair is permed), but cut short. He is the other Muslim in the group. His manner of speaking is

precise. In fact, during our first interview he was so precise that I believed his responses to have been too well thought out. Sometimes he did not respond directly to my question, but appeared to take his answer in a direction of his choice. Apparently, he was well read regarding the problems affecting African Americans in schools and in society. Toward the end of the first interview, I indicated that I did not wish for him to say what he thought I wanted to hear or to speak exactly from what he had read. I did not use any of his data from the first interview. Rather, I wanted the second and third interviews be a direct response to my questions about his experiences.

Because he had spent his junior high and high school years in a predominately white environment, he had much to say about feeling like an outsider in school. He told me that the white students and teachers always seemed to be working as a team. For example, whatever he said, someone always spoke in contradiction to him and regardless of the other reasons, everyone else sided against him. He had previously attended a predominately black school before his family moved to the Midwest.

Thoughts About the Coinvestigators

Cooperation and respect from the coinvestigators could not have been improved. They were extremely committed to this study. A great deal of personal information was shared about their educational experiences, and they were just as open about their shortcomings.

In their own voices, I heard African American men take responsibility for their actions. I heard them share experiences they had in school and in society more broadly; many of the experiences reflected uncaring treatment and discrimination. Yet, few of them complained about how others treated them. I noticed their efforts to refrain from the "blame the man" mentality we often associate with inmates. I saw them attempt to maintain a strong way-of-being when they actually wanted to cry. One did shed tears and others' eyes filled with tears as they spoke. Their tears were unnecessary for me to empathize with their pain. Physiological changes such as a lowering of the head, looking away while focusing on nothing, or voice changes indicated to me their embarrassment, shame, and hurt. We can learn from their voices if we are willing. We may learn to be more caring in the process.

African American Male Inmates' Lived Experiences With Schools

This chapter presents the themes of the educational experiences of the coinvestigators in this study. Descriptions of lived educational experiences of other African American males are woven into the chapter to deepen our understanding. We do not know whether all African American men have had similar experiences, so these themes are not generalizable. However, pondering the experiences presented here can heighten our attentiveness to others' lived experiences in schools.

The research question was: What are the educational experiences of African American male inmates like? The answer to the question is found in the themes

which emerged from the interviews with the African American male inmates. The four themes are: (1) we don't like being embarrassed, (2) feelin like I'm on the outside peeping in, (3) we want to be cared about, and (4) they were afraid of us and we were afraid of them. The last section of the chapter presents the main, overarching theme: it just couldn't have been my school. We now turn to the interpretation of the educational experiences of African American male inmates.

We Don't Like Being Embarrassed

The coinvestigators talked about being embarrassed as they described aspects of their educational experiences. Sometimes they were embarrassed by teachers and sometimes they felt embarrassed because they did not know what they seemingly should have learned. When teachers embarrassed them, the teachers would single them out, make a big deal about their predicament.

One coinvestigator believed that the classroom embarrassment may have motivated him. He said,

The teacher would call me over to his desk and ask me, "Why don't you know the answer to this question, how come you are not prepared at all?" I would tell him, "I just didn't get it" or give some old feeble excuse. I probably didn't. No I just didn't take the time to prepare. I think this particular teacher knew that I had the potential; that may be why he called on me ... When I did prepare myself and I came up to the board and I had the answer he didn't seem that surprised. When I look back on that, I look at it as a positive experience. Even though I was embarrassed, I think that the embarrassment turned into a positive conclusion. Because it did let me know that if I did prepare, I could cope with the class.

When asked if he would advocate embarrassment as a motivator, he said:

I think that it is kind of a personal thing—it wouldn't work for everybody. Now my oldest son, he would probably be embarrassed to the extent that he would not want to come back. I think that it is just the difference between people. In my experience when I think back on teachers, the better teachers that I had dealt with everybody as individuals as opposed to trying to deal with everybody as the same.

Even though this coinvestigator thought embarrassment could be helpful to some, other coinvestigators were clear they did not like to be embarrassed by teachers. One said, "I didn't like teachers who were strict and purposely

embarrassed you. Sometimes it pushes you to do better, but sometimes you just gave up." The term "purposely" conveys that the teachers were fully aware of their actions. When teachers acted purposefully, they were seen as intentionally attempting to embarrass him. The effect on this coinvestigator was to discourage him; he "just gave up."

Sometimes teachers singled out students to embarrass them. Another coinvestigator said, "I did not like a teacher who always singled me out." Being "singled out" meant being selected from the group, distinguished from other

students, picked on more often than other students by the teacher. Is being singled out about being under increased scrutiny? If one is "always" being singled out, is one being carefully selected because of an undesirable trait? If one comes to expect to being singled out, being in the classroom is changed, different for this student.

Not only were coinvestigators intentionally singled out for embarrassment, but ordinary—and unpleasant—bodily functions were the cause of embarrassment. Being sick and throwing up is embarrassing to children, but throwing up in class and having a teacher draw attention to it was worse. One coinvestigator said, "I threw up in the classroom. Mr. Casey made a big deal out of it. He went and got Mr. Bord [another teacher] and the janitor. It was very embarrassing for me. I went home and didn't come to school for two days."

Throwing up in the classroom causes public embarrassment because of the loss of control of the body and the stench that inevitably ensues. As he was dealing with this embarrassment, he was also embarrassed by the teacher making a big deal out of it. The teacher blew things out of proportion by doing and saying things unnecessarily. More adults were called to the classroom.

Miller (1996) defines embarrassment as a complex emotion which is made up of several components and aspects, the salience of which necessitates the individual making appraisals of a social event and the physiological and behavioral consequences of that event. In appraising the event, self-presentational difficulties and a concern with social rules are central issues. Embarrassment has to do with a failure to present a desired image to others whom we think will make some judgement about us. Miller continues to explain that embarrassment generally does not carry moral implications as does shame; it refers to accidents or goofs.

When we connect the experience of throwing up at school with Miller's definition of embarrassment, we see that it was an accident. The coinvestigator's illness prevented him from controlling his bodily functions and he vomited foul smelling liquids from his body. Therefore the experience of throwing up, especially at school, is an accident. Having friends is important for children, and the coinvestigator did not want his peers to judge him negatively. The coinvestigator was embarrassed because his image, to his friends, would be tarnished.

Another occurrence of embarrassment involved children getting dirty on the playground. Active boys are bound to get dirty in the course of their normal play. Indeed, can active boys play without getting dirty? According to one coinvestigator, "After playing outside, we would get punished for having dirty hands, and would have to stand at the back of the classroom. The other children would laugh and tease me. I would be hurt and embarrassed."

The memory of the other children laughing at and teasing him appeared to be echoing as he talked. He was reliving this unpleasant experience. Though usually confident, this coinvestigator displayed some physiological responses to embarrassment that included dropping his head, briefly frowning, and placing his hands over his chin, appearing as though he did not quite know what to do

with them. I sensed that he was attempting to stay cool to maintain his image of a strong black man, even though he was hurting.

Why a teacher would punish a child for having dirty hands is perplexing. The students with dirty hands were separated and confined far from the teachers, just as today the same coinvestigator is separated and confined in prison. The separation could have been interpreted to mean that he was so bad and dirty that he had to be "removed from society" (Kohn, 1996). Being separated and standing in the back of the room, he and his friends with dirty hands were singled out for ridicule. He was an object of laughing and teasing. This is the experience of being embarrassed and hurt at school.

The stories of these coinvestigators improve our understanding of ways teachers cause embarrassment through seemingly small issues like singling students out, overreacting to a sick child who throws up, and punishing a student with dirty hands. Most importantly, they alert us to the impact teachers' actions has on students.

Also contributing to coinvestigators' embarrassment were learning disabilities and not knowing what they were expected to know in school. Not knowing the words of the pledge of allegiance to the American flag was devastating for one coinvestigator. He said, "In elementary school we would recite the pledge to the flag. I never got the words right. I didn't like that." His memory of the experience visibly bothered him. As he dropped his head, his facial expression appeared anguished. I felt his pain during this conversation, and I felt sorry for him. The image of him as a man in prison shifted to the little boy watching helplessly as everyone else recited the pledge comfortably. "It wasn't his fault," I thought.

He also spoke about being embarrassed because he constantly needed help from the teacher. He could not cope with the work. He continued, "It was difficult and embarrassing because I was always asking the teacher to come give me help. All of the other kids were just doing it on their own and stuff like that." According to him, he attempted to hide his embarrassment by acting out in class. He was a class clown and sometimes picked on the teachers as he tried to cope with the class work. For him, acting out became a facade to avoid embarrassment and to project an image that everything was all right with him. Goffman (1955) refers to this facade as a face saving strategy. In offering an explanation for his acting out, the coinvestigator told me that,

I didn't like school, so I tried to cover up for dealing with the problem of not reading and getting embarrassed. School did not appeal to me because I felt different from the other kids. I worried about doing the wrong thing, getting laughed at, and being embarrassed.

For another coinvestigator, the fear of being embarrassed kept him from taking a college entrance exam. He said,

Mama always told me that if I ever wanted to go to college, she would do all that she could to help me. I didn't want to take an entrance exam because I thought I was too dumb to pass it. I was embarrassed to even try.

His fear of being embarrassed became a barrier to learning. He continued,

I knew some straight A students, and I knew that I couldn't measure up to these kids. They could sit down and thumb through a book in five minutes and get an A for the semester. I had to read the book from cover to cover and would do good to get a C minus, because my comprehension and attention span was real bad. That affected my self-image.

In these two examples, we see a child and a youth who receded into themselves and protected themselves from embarrassment. They covered up their deficits and refused to try to learn to avoid embarrassment.

Covering up and hiding is associated with shame. Sometimes embarrassment and shame are used interchangeably, and sometimes shame is seen as an extension of embarrassment (Lynd, 1958; Miller, 1996). Shame was a deeper sense of embarrassment that was experienced by some of the coinvestigators.

When I asked the coinvestigator who was sent to the back of the classroom for having dirty hands what he would tell educators regarding what he felt, he remarked,

I think that when you try to point out something bad about a person, I think that as a human being we don't like to hear anything bad about ourselves. That sort of insults the person or makes him feel shame, and some of us react different ways when we feel shame.

We learn that for this coinvestigator, shame produced some sort of "different" reaction for him. Could this different reaction have been acting out? We also learned that his shame was caused by being told something bad about himself.

Although they spoke in terms of embarrassment most of the time, I detected shame in the coinvestigator who stayed home for two days after throwing up and the coinvestigator who could not recite the pledge of allegiance to the American flag. Understanding these lived experiences can be enhanced by an awareness of three main points about shame: how shame is defined, how it is associated with other terms, and the impact of shame.

Shame is an emotion caused by embarrassment, unworthiness, or disgrace (American Heritage College Dictionary, 1993). Shame is overwhelming. Feelings of shame may lead to feelings of inferiority. Shame may be synonymous with embarrassment (Lynd, 1958; Miller, 1996), but shame hurts more deeply. Shame affects the psyche. We may avoid acknowledging shame—its hard to say out loud, "I feel ashamed of myself." It's painful.

Children associate shame with embarrassment, ridicule, feeling stupid, and being incapable of doing things right (Ferguson, Stegge, and Damhuis, 1991). Feeling shame is also associated with not measuring up (Wong, 1992). Wong believes that males tend to make an effort to elude feelings of shame. This is particularly important to understand about African American males because their conceptions of manhood (Hunter and Davis, 1994) include dignity.

Personal experience has taught me that a significant impact of shame is the loss of dignity and having one's spirit broken. Shame is devoid of power. To render oneself powerless is like being subhuman and being subhuman is like

living without power. Living without power and being subhuman violates one's human worth. Richard Wright (1940) eloquently described the depth of shame when the character in *Native Son*, Bigger said, "I felt drenched in shame, naked to my soul" (p. 112). The coinvestigator who was embarrassed by the teacher when he "threw up" in the classroom, stayed home for two days because home was a place of safety. School was the place where he felt the shame, and it was so powerful that he stayed away.

In *Nigger*, Dick Gregory (1964) shared his experiences with shame in school. His experiences in school bear a close resemblance with the coinvestigator who stayed home for two days. Gregory said, "I never learned hate at home, or shame. I had to go to school for that" (p. 43). His story represented a world of shame, of being soaked in shame. Being introduced to shame heightened the awareness of shame in all other aspects of his life. Shame was about feeling different, and suddenly that difference was seen everywhere. He wrote,

I had almost three dollars in dimes and quarters in my pocket. I stuck my hand in my pocket and held onto the money, waiting for her to call my name. But the teacher closed her book after she called everybody else in the class. I stood up and raised my hand. "What is it now?" You forgot me. She turned toward the blackboard. "I don't have time to be playing with you, Richard." "My Daddy said he'd..." "Sit down, Richard, you're disturbing the class." "My Daddy said he'd give... fifteen dollars." She turned around and looked mad. "We are collecting this money for you and your kind, Richard Gregory. If your Daddy can give fifteen dollars you have no business being on relief." "I got it right now, I got it right now, my Daddy gave it to me to turn in today, my Daddy said..." "And furthermore," she said, looking right at me, her nostrils getting big and her lips getting thin and her eyes opening wide. "We know you don't have a Daddy." (p. 45)

Gregory's teacher made sure that everyone knew that he was on welfare and that he didn't have a daddy. Her shaming him publicly in front of the class was a turning point.

And I always thought the teacher kind of liked me. She always picked me to wash the blackboard on Friday, after school. That was a big thrill, it made me feel important. If I didn't wash it, come Monday the school might not function right. I walked out of school that day, and for a long time I didn't go back very often. There was shame there. (p. 45)

We see these African American males—Dick Gregory and the coinvestigator—being shamed at school and their subsequent avoidance of school because of it. The significance of their experiences is that the place which was to provide learning, hope, guidance, and better opportunities is the place they fled. Perhaps they were hiding from individuals who witnessed their shame. The impact of shame lingers in the memories of these adults.

In the theme, "we don't like to be embarrassed," the coinvestigators teach us that attending school means living the experience of embarrassment. When teach-

ers embarrassed them, the teachers would single them out, make a big deal about their being sick, or punish them for getting their hands dirty. When they had not learned what they seemingly should have known, they felt embarrassed. While the coinvestigators told about embarrassment, we see the shadow of shame. Avoiding embarrassment is a normal reaction for all of us. "We don't like to be embarrassed" expresses a lived educational experience of nine African American male inmates.

Feelin' Like I'm on the Outside Peeping in

The testimonies from the coinvestigators revealed that they felt very little involvement in their educational experiences, like they were outsiders. These feelings were based on several episodes. One coinvestigator's family moved frequently and thus, he was a new student several times. Another coinvestigator had a low reading level and felt that he was a burden on the teachers. Two other coinvestigators felt that they were in somebody else's school, and another felt that the teachers distanced themselves in the classroom. The theme, "feeling like I'm on the outside peeping in" informs us of the coinvestigators' concerns about male bonding, being on the outside, and their being in a different world. Regardless of the specific episode, they felt like outsiders at school.

Male Bonding

For some of the coinvestigators, not feeling connected to their school increased the need for bonding with other African American males. They were thrust into the arms of those with whom they could connect. When asked how he would get to know other students or make himself feel part of the school, one coinvestigator said that to get to know each other, the boys would play fight during recess. He believed that sometimes the teachers must have thought that they hated each other, but according to him, that was something little boys do: play rough. "We would be bonding. Wrestling, clocking, everything was going on out there in that school yard." Clocking is a jumbled combination of karate and fighting. Playing and bonding were a part of his way of being in the world. In another interview, he indicated that even in prison, he still gets in trouble for playing.

They were sending me to the hole for stupid stuff. Like playing. Like me and this small white guy was playing. He hit me and ran, right? And I ran after him back in the cottage, right? But, I didn't see him in there or nothing. You know it was like nothing. And then count time came and they came to his room and came to my room and got us and took us to the hole and said we was fighting. I mean this little guy, they said I was fighting this real little guy... We were just playing—it was just playing.

To teachers and prison guards rough play seems to mean fighting, and to these men it seems to mean male bonding. The concept of male bonding through play is also illustrated by Charles Ogletree's experiences at Harvard University. Lawrence-Lightfoot (1994) writes,

The Black Plague—a black law school students' 'rough touch' football team—offered much more than a workout. 'There was a strong sense of kinship... It was a source of identity...an inner circle of strength...important male bonding.' Alone, each of the brothers felt isolated and vulnerable; together they felt invincible. (p. 640-641)

Another coinvestigator told about bonding taking place during recess. He said, "As a new student, I would mainly try to build relationships during recess. That is where the bond come in as far as everyone knowing each other." Bonding through play at recess helped him to connect with a few other students. Because he felt like an outsider in the school, the only connection he felt came from getting to know others through play. Recess was vital to the bonding because only then were the boys free to be together and to wrestle, clock, and "rough touch." They seized the opportunity to connect to with other.

This coinvestigator frequently used the phrase "keeping it real" which refers to the importance of maintaining a strong African American identity which may carry different meanings according to one's socioeconomic status or belief system. The phrase can refer to staying African American in a predominately white context. The coinvestigator did not feel connected to the school and even the African American teachers because they were not real in his opinion; they acted fake, not like themselves. African Americans have various phrases to describe how one should be one's self. The phrase, "putting on airs," refers to a pretense, such as switching ways of speaking or acting in the presence of someone else. Another phrase, "stay black," carries the same meaning as "keeping it real." The coinvestigator who introduced the phrase in our conversation, felt strongly that neither the African American teachers in his school nor the African American inmates and employees at the correctional facility were keeping it real. When teachers and students at school did not keep it real, he had difficulty connecting with his school.

Bonding on the playground meant maintaining their identity and keeping it real. Orlando Bagwell, a successful African American male documentary film maker interviewed by Lawrence-Lightfoot, (1994) associated the rough play on the playground with surviving in the real world. Lawrence-Lightfoot writes,

On the playground—a large fenced-in concrete lot—the gender segregation was maintained with "the girls just standing around talking" while "the boys got into the fight thing." Orlando describes the male scene: "It was all about turf. Everyone is protecting his own...everyone is playing it. It is a violent and dangerous world." The violence would often be channeled into games. In one game, called North Against the South, boys would line up on either side of the playground, and at the signal they would charge at each other at top speed, shoving, pushing, kicking, banging each other down, pressing their bodies into the hard cement. The boys would return from recess scraped, bruised, and bleeding. "Why didn't the teachers intervene?" I ask. Orlando laughs -- "They had enough sense not to risk life and limb trying to break this stuff up."

For the Bagwell boys and their cousins, the playground held special dangers. Not only did they have to watchout for the male 'turf thing'; they also knew that their blackness made them particularly vulnerable to attacks. "My brother and I were covering our backs all the time." (p. 528-529)

We see African American boys playing rough at school, an African American man playing rough in prison, and African American men playing rough at law school. Rough play helps them bond, maintain their identity, and keep it real, inside a school where they otherwise felt like they did not belong.

Being on the Outside

Relying on conventional wisdom, one would expect that participating in school activities would be one way to increase feelings of connection to a school. But for one coinvestigator, it did not help. According to him, "I did not feel any connection at school even though I participated in band." The same coinvestigator feels unrelated to programs in the correctional facility. He said, "I do not feel any connection with the educational programs here in prison ...they [teachers and other inmates] are not real."

Another coinvestigator believed that he had no involvement in making decisions about the courses he should take while he was in high school. He said,

They [teachers] should ask what is it that you want, as opposed to somebody making decisions behind closed doors. You've got to include these people and integrate what they want in order to have them to want to come to school. They just told me this is the class and here it is.

Not being included in the selection of his coursework excluded him from school in some ways. He sensed no school ownership and, hence, he was an outsider.

In *I've Known Rivers*, Lawrence-Lightfoot (1994) writes about Orlando Bagwell as he painfully watched his friends and himself become estranged from education by the lack of choices. Bagwell said

This feels alien, frightening... You walk into class and you are not on your territory. They decide what you should learn and how you should do it... You feel excluded from those decisions, rendered inadequate. (p. 557)

One coinvestigator said attending a predominately white school made him feel like an outsider:

I was for the most part educated in Detroit and Minnesota. Ah, Detroit was an environment where there were many more African American kids. When we came to Minnesota that was quite different. Back in the sixties, I don't think that the big migration of numbers came, black people came until the late seventies or early eighties. Back in those days, the class rooms were predominately European or Caucasian. There were maybe like three African Americans, and we felt like it was them and us. Certain things that—for example, if I had a confrontation with one

of the white kids. I could be right, my perspective or my argument could be more right...they would take sides. You have this majority number who took sides against the minority. And you felt like no matter what my opinion is, I'm not gonna be heard today. And they would begin to create barriers.

When asked what those barriers were, he responded:

They would be like ah, just like silent bars. You know what I mean? Invisible bars, silent barriers. No matter what you would do, you wouldn't fit in there. No matter how hard you try, you're not with us and we're not with you—therefore ain't nothing happen' here. You would feel alienated.

Like Dick Gregory (1964) who left school after he was shamed, and the coinvestigator who left school after he was embarrassed, we see two more African American males describing experiences which distanced them from school. One is a coinvestigator in this study, the other a successful film maker. Both the coinvestigator and Bagwell used the word alienated to describe a particular aspect of their educational experience. When one feels alienated, one is isolated, alone, not attached. Like the coinvestigator who was isolated from the rest of the class for having dirty hands, Bagwell felt distanced and removed. He said, "What hurt more than the outbursts of violence was the chronic feeling of being 'on the outside,' excluded and distanced from 'the center of things'" (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1994, p. 524). Lawrence-Lightfoot continued quoting Bagwell, "I was the only black kid in the second grade. I went through the whole year barely talking to anyone, fearful and uncomfortable" (p. 522). As noted above, one of the coinvestigators used the phrase, "You wouldn't fit in, no matter how hard you try." We can see that he spent time and effort attempting to gain access.

Because he was always getting into trouble with his cousins and brothers, one coinvestigator's mother removed him from a predominately black school and enrolled him in an Hispanic school across town. Once there, he was getting into trouble again for fighting. As one of the few African American males in the school, he was without his cousins and brothers which meant that he had no one to watch his back. He was all alone in the new school, and he remembers his unhappiness. His troubles increased as a result of that experience. He said,

I think I should have been sent to a school that had black people. Because I just heard all good stuff about those schools. And it seem like those kids that was going to [old school] cause that was a black school, it seem like they actually wanted to go to school. I didn't want to go to school. I did not want to go to no school—back then. But it just seem like the people at [old school] were having just so much fun. I just didn't feel as though I was being reached there [at the Hispanic school]. I know [said with emphasis] I wasn't being reached in that school! Because when somethin' reach me, you know what I'm saying, I feel as though I wanna do it. You know, I wanna finish it and it drives me to do it ... You know? I mean they never reached me. They never reached me at that school.

Even though one school was predominately black and the other predominately Hispanic, I asked if he could be more specific about the differences. He said,

I don't know. I mean maybe that school would have been alright if I was a Spanish kid, but you know I figure that them people that was in that school was reaching Spanish people a little bit better and the people in the black school was reaching the black kids a little bit better. I mean it had nothing really to do with being prejudice or nothing. But it would have to be that.

He felt black teachers related better to black kids, and Hispanic teachers relate better to Hispanic kids. When asked if he felt different as a black kid in that Hispanic school, he said,

I felt as though I belonged to that other school [black school], but I was just in that school to keep me separated [from my brother and cousins]. You know, why else would I be going to that school when that other school was closer to my house? It was closer to my school. My brother went to that school, my sisters went to that school. You know, why do I gotta go all the way to the other end of Atlantic City to go to school? [pause]. Even that, ok, if they didn't want to put me in that school, why did I have to go to a Puerto Rican school when I could have went to another black school? It was another black school around there.

He felt different and compared his siblings' school experiences and his own. He felt like an outsider over a period of time. In reflection, how he came to feel like an outsider in his school is understandable. In a follow-up interview, I reminded him that he had previously indicated that his brother, sisters, and cousins appeared to be enjoying their school, the black school, but he really wasn't enjoying his educational experiences. When asked how he came to believe that they enjoyed school, he said, "They wasn't getting suspended and stuff like I was." I asked him if they were doing better in school, and he said, "It seemed that way. They ain't never got left back. My brother, I don't think he ever got suspended." I asked him if his brothers did the same things in school as he did which got him into trouble. He said, "I don't think the same things was happening to them. I mean I think they was just getting in trouble with me like after school." So they seemed not to get in trouble at school.

As an explanation for his problems in school, he indicated that he was reacting to problems related to being in an Hispanic school. But when I asked him why he thought those things were happening to him, he said,

I don't know, I just figured that they was like, that I was the bad guy. That's what everybody was like pointing it to, like I was the bad one like out of everybody else. I was always into something, so I was always out there fighting and somein' like that.

When asked what was causing the fights, he answered, "I wasn't startin' the fights. It wasn't like I was the oldest person in the school. Like something would happen out in the yard and I would just fight. I mean it was, some of the times the kids was bigger than me. I would still fight."

Later, I asked him why he thought that the Hispanic school was their school? He said, "Cause it was in the Spanish part of town, had Spanish teachers, and most of all the kids was Spanish. The principal was Spanish." Then I asked, "Why do you think the African American school was their school?" He said, "Basically it was like all African American students with African American principal, teachers, and stuff like that." The school's songs seemed to be distinguishing features:

They had a corny song over there at that [Hispanic] school. It was corny. I know it just wasn't better than my cousin's and them... Their school song was cold [real cool], and ours was like corny. Our graduation song was this song by Annie. That was our graduation song [said sarcastically]... our school song talked about a brave man in Spain and stuff like that.

His feelings about the song reveal his being an outsider.

Another coinvestigator felt different from other students because his reading level was very low and he could not comprehend as quickly as the others. He said,

You just feel like you different from everybody else, you just different from them because it's like they got these skills and qualities and stuff and you don't got em. It's like you just don't fit in. There is somewhere where I fit it. I'm just gonna find out where I fit it and instead of just saying I'm go' try to fit in, I just gotta ask them [teachers] for the help and let them know what I need. And if they willing to give me that, I can try to fit it right here. I would usually try to find something easy.

I asked, "What would that be like? Where would you fit in? He said, "Most likely with the guys that were skipping class, or go out to the mall or something, hang like that."

As an outsider, a great deal of time is spent attempting to gain access. As one attempts to gain access, feelings of rejection are supreme, because in the process, the self is lost (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1994). Feeling like an outsider in school was evident when the coinvestigator spoke about sensing that their school was someone else's territory, being one of few African Americans in school, being considered as the bad guy, and being aware that you can't learn like others.

It Was a Different World

One coinvestigator attended a predominantly black high school, called East High School, near his home until it was closed as a part of the desegregation of schools in his city. The students at East High School were separated and sent to two suburban, all white schools miles away from their neighborhood. He smiled as he talked, but he appeared to have a great deal of resentment toward the district for closing his school and sending him to a different world. This transfer was not only a significant change in schooling for him, but also a critical change (Polite, 1994) in the make up of his new school, Bilford High School. The racial composition of Bilford was dramatically affected by busing this coinvestigator

and his friends out there. He did not feel connected to the school because he believed that the teachers and students in his new school did not want the black students to be a part of it. When asked what could have helped him to feel connected, he frowned as he said, "Nothing would have helped. I couldn't stand that school!" He continued, "I didn't like most of the teachers because they seemed uppity like they were better than me. Their attitude was arrogant. The whole school was." I asked him what the teachers did to appear arrogant or uppity. He said,

It's just the way they used to talk and say things. Their vocabulary was different from the teachers at East. The teachers at East would sit down and talk to you on the same level that you were at. At Bilford they would use these big ole vocabulary words and say stuff like, 'Mr. Low, you are so and so and so.' Sometimes it made me feel awkward, but most of the times I wasn't trying to hear what they were saying.

I asked him how teachers at East talked to him. He said, "Teachers at East were saying, 'You need to shape up or ship out.' They were direct." The difference in the way black and white teachers communicate with students, is an example of culturally influenced oral interactions (Delpit, 1988). Many African American teachers and parents pose explicit directives such as you need to shape up or ship out. According to Delpit (1988), white teachers are more likely to give "veiled directives," which may be more difficult to interpret.

Yearnings for a more welcoming environment was felt by the coinvestigator who was transferred to Bilford. He experienced a great loss of the bond with others in the close-knit relationships in his former school. He left an environment that was welcoming and entered Bilford High School which was cold and distant. When describing the teachers at East High, he said, "The teachers related better to you because the teachers lived in the same neighborhood with you. Bilford was way out surrounded by suburbs and big ole houses and things like that." In his new school, teachers were more formal. According to Bowser (1991) there is a need to drop the formality with some students and take a personal interest in their lives and work with them. He believes that an effective and motivating relationship begins when that happens.

Looking back, this 23-year-old coinvestigator reflected on the great differences between his neighborhood and that surrounding his new school. Being forced to integrate into a new school brought about a new level of awareness about differences between black people and white people. He said,

The white kids had benzes [Mercedes] and everything in school. The school district separated our school in halves. We were torn up. This was very different. I used to say every time I was going to school "these white people getting paid." I think that's when I first started seeing a difference between our neighborhood and their neighborhood. I got a good look at it then. I think that's when I knew there was racism, but going to Bilford set it off.

The coinvestigator's described two schools which reflected two cultures. There

are two points to be noted here. First, most African Americans see a contradiction between the way they are treated and caucasians' belief in justice and equality. Even Myrdal (1944) found that the nation's beliefs in justice and equality was a direct contradiction to the way white people treated African Americans. The second point is made by Hacker (1992). He discusses the black and the white world in *America in Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*; he states that blacks and whites see things differently and they are treated differently. The coinvestigator who was bused to the suburban school became aware of the two worlds through his own lived experiences. Awareness of the two worlds increased his awareness of differences, of feeling different, of feeling like an outsider at school.

In *Native Son* (1940), the character Bigger experienced being an outsider too. Like the coinvestigator on the school bus, Bigger also knew that there were differences between himself and white people. He said,

Them white boys sure can fly, Gus said. Yeah, Bigger said, wistfully. They get a chance to do everything... I could fly one of them things if I had a chance, Bigger mumbled reflectively, as though talking to himself... I could fly a plane if I had a chance, Bigger said. If you wasn't black and if you had some money and if they'd let you got to that aviation school, you could fly a plane, Gus said. For a moment Bigger contemplated all the 'ifs' that Gus had mentioned. Then both boys broke into hard laughter, looking at each other through squinted eyes. When their laughter subsided, Bigger said in a voice that was half-question and half-statement: It's funny how the white folks treat us, ain't it? ... We live here and they live there. We black and they white. They got things and we ain't. They do things and we can't. It's just like living in jail. Half the time I feel like I'm on the outside of the world peeping in through a know-hole in the fence...(p. 14-17).

We can understand Bigger's recognition of the differences between blacks and whites. Likewise, we can visualize the coinvestigator riding on the school bus, peeping through the window, feeling like he was in a different world while noticing the large houses and expensive cars en route to school. As Bigger analyzed the differences, he said that he felt like he was in jail. Is this how the coinvestigator felt as he was bused to the new school and as he noticed the "big ole' houses" and teenagers driving "benzes?" Like Bigger, did he feel a sense of confinement? If so, is this how school should feel?

The school experiences of African American male inmates, disclose a "feelin like I'm on the outside peeping in." The testimonies from the coinvestigators informed us that they felt very little involvement in their educational experiences. We learned about male bonding—how it is manifested in rough play and why it is important to African American males. In spite of their efforts to bond with each other, they remained on the outside. We saw young African American males who felt like school was a different world. They felt like outsiders when they didn't relate culturally to their schools or when they fell behind academi-

cally. One coinvestigator felt like an outsider because even African American teachers were not keeping it real. The coinvestigators felt like they were on the outside peeping into someone else's school.

We Want to be Cared About

When the coinvestigators were asked to describe the teachers that they did or did not like and specific situations that made them feel good in school, caring emerged as a theme. We see in their experiences some of the teachers were caring. Caring teachers were described as those who provided guidance, who disciplined with concern, who had high expectations of them, were attentive to them, were patient with them, were nice and supportive, and who provided praise.

We also see in their experiences that some teachers really did not care. Uncaring teachers embarrassed them, did not provide positive comments, offered no support, allowed them to sleep in class, or only cared about them because of their athletic ability. Finally, uncaring teachers were also those who pushed them through classes because they were disciplinary problems, and who used corporal punishment. Caring represents a significant theme since students' self-esteem and self-worth are influenced by teacher interactions (Deiro, 1994). Students may believe that teachers are uncaring when they intentionally embarrass them (Martin, 1987). Effective teachers are aware of the importance of caring, and reflecting on caring can alter a teacher's pedagogy (Webb and Blond, 1995).

Some of the Teachers Were Caring

In their article, *Youth and Caring*, Chaskin and Rauner (1995) reported on youth programs that focused on caring. One such program, the Research Program on Youth and Caring, developed the following definition. They wrote that caring,

involves the ways in which individuals and institutions protect young people and invest in their ongoing development. It also involves the ways in which young people, in turn, protect the rights and interest of others and ultimately support the ongoing development of their social and civic communities. (p. 671-672)

In another definition of caring, Bosworth (1995) reported that as teens discussed characteristics of caring, they saw caring as "an integral part of relationships within their circle of intimate friends and family members, as well as in their school, their community, and the rest of the world" (p. 687). Noblit, Rogers, and McCadden's (1995) conceptualize it as a value. They wrote, "Caring is a value. Morally and culturally, caring is a belief about how we should view and interact with others" (p. 680). Most significantly, caring means that we help others grow and reach their full potential, according to Mayeroff, (1971). Mayeroff further contends that the major ingredients of caring include: knowing, patience, honesty, trust, humility, hope, and courage. These ingredients were evident in the voices of the coinvestigators when they discussed the extent to which teachers cared about them.

The coinvestigators gave many examples of guidance they received from teach-

ers, and in the guidance we see teachers who cared for them. One coinvestigator with a history of severe truancy was eventually sent to a training school for boys where he found educational guidance. According to him, "The teachers at the training school were more caring, fun, and creative than they were in the public schools. The coach really pushed me." Another coinvestigator remarked, "Mr. Pointer dressed sharp like we did. He would make learning applicable to life, to what we were experiencing. He made us understand why we wanted to stay in school."

Most of the coinvestigators indicated that they appreciated discipline, care, and guidance from their teachers. One coinvestigator said, "they didn't just report bad things, but used discipline and care toward me. They visited my home regularly and laughed with my mom." Another coinvestigator commented on the guidance he received from a teacher who extended himself to help him: "One teacher, a man, tried to help out by building a relationship with my family. He pushed me to do what was right." Another coinvestigator admired his principal's respect and guidance. He said, "My elementary school principal was like Ida B. Wells - strong, respected, classy. She took some classes to Washington, D.C. She taught us how to use silverware properly."

Following a fight in high school, a coinvestigator's high school principal guided him to put his energy into sports instead of expelling him. He said,

My first fight in high school changed my life because instead of suspending or expelling me, the principal encouraged me to put that energy in sports. I started running track, my grades were good, and I graduated from there. I had no additional fights.

Another way guidance was experienced was through teachers helping them to set goals which is an important aspect of academic achievement and life success. The coinvestigator believed that by helping them to set goals, teachers demonstrated belief in them and in their ability to succeed. According to one coinvestigator, "I liked teachers who were always trying to get you to plan a career."

Yet, another coinvestigator indicated that guidance was demonstrated by the teachers when they believed in his sincerity in wanting to succeed. In the correctional facility the educational program is geared toward returning individuals to the community with employable skills. According to one coinvestigator, "There is a concern for caring. If you want to know, you can get the help. They have that humbleness and you can feel the genuine in them and that they don't want anything from you."

Believing that teachers in the correctional facility believed in him increased his desire to change his life. He said,

They just want you to be the best that you can be. That really helped me to want to change my life around. The Education Coordinator can be nice and real harsh. If you are trying, she is in your corner. She has the desire, willingness, humbleness to want you to do something for yourself. There are people here who will give you the help.

As another ingredient of caring, attention, was seen by two coinvestigators who commented that they liked teachers who took time with them. When this occurred, they believed that the teachers were genuinely concerned about them. According to one coinvestigator, "My gym instructor [a white man] was the only teacher who appeared to be interested in me." Another coinvestigator was more direct about wanting attention, "I liked teachers who were attentive to me."

Some coinvestigators described teachers who were patient with them. One coinvestigator who continues to struggle to improve his reading, expressed appreciation for the patience that some teachers and tutors have demonstrated toward him. He said,

They were really good people. I think it would be frustrating trying to teach someone something that is really hard for them to learn. You steady [sic] have to keep going over and over it with them to get them to get it. I think it would be frustrating for them. I don't think I could do it.

His comments revealed that the teacher covered the material over and over again. He acknowledged his belief that repeating information for a slow learner would be frustrating for the teachers. Their patience with him lead him to believe that they were good people. However, this level of patience is difficult and can not be taught in teacher preparation courses; patience can be learned through actual teaching (Paschke, (1996). This coinvestigator especially appreciated the one-on-one tutoring. He said, "One-on-one they are right there and they keep going over it with you. They would write it down right there and give it to you."

Persevering is difficult when it is perceived that a teacher does not support your best interests. For one coinvestigator, having a teacher in a correctional class to support him made a big difference. He said,

Once I quit the computer class for a week because I could not get along with the new class assistant. The regular teacher wasn't there that week. I accepted another job [within the correctional facility], but I called the teacher the next week. He congratulated me but said, 'let me tell you one thing, don't ever let anyone stop you from getting an education.' He allowed me to come back to school. That support changed the whole outlook on my life.

The coinvestigators had strong memories of their caring teachers. The nice teachers were easy to remember: "I liked teachers who treated me nice," said one coinvestigator. Another said, "I liked Mrs. Billie because she was nice, helped me with my homework, showed concern and compassion. She was encouraging and gave me hope."

When asked to uncover his most pleasant memory of school, one coinvestigator smiled as he recalled the praise one teacher gave him about his class project:

He [teacher] was talking about Africa one day. He referred to it as the dark continent. Not because of the color of the people, but because little was known about it. And I said I know plenty about it. And he said, 'All right, go for what you know.' So, he assigned us term projects... when I got done, I was so proud. I took it to class and showed it...When I

finished it, the class gave me an applause. My teacher liked it so much, he kept it and showed it to other teachers and classes.

The coinvestigator told about many incidents of teachers caring for them. However, not all of their teachers cared.

Some Teachers Really Didn't Care

The coinvestigators felt many of their teachers really did not care about them. The teachers' lack of care was disclosed in their lack of positive comments to the students, by pushing them through the grades even though they were not learning, and in their corporal punishment of the students. We note that not caring meant omission of providing what students needed as well as commission of school sanctioned violence against them.

When asked to describe his teachers, one coinvestigator said, "I think my attitude was like they really don't care. They are just here to collect their paycheck every two weeks or what not." In a later interview, he indicated his frustration with classes at the correctional facility and related his school experiences with prison. He told me:

Basically that's the same thing that is going on in this program. When you here, they don't care. But when you lay in or something they call like they concerned about you—which I know it's all about making themselves look good. They not really out to do nothing for me. I'm trying to do it for myself, but I need help. They pretending like they want to help, but they don't. They just trying to make themselves look good to keep their funding or whatever.

Dick Gregory imagined a caring teacher which contrasts with the uncaring teacher he experienced in everyday life. By noting the caring teacher of his imagination, we better understand what a teacher who does not care is like. We do not see evidence of positive comments in Dick Gregory's (1964) poignant story of a schoolteacher he conceived in his imagination:

I made up a schoolteacher that loved me, that taught me to read. A teacher that didn't put me in the idiot's seat or talk about you and your kind. She didn't yell at me when I came to school with my homework all wrinkled and damp. She understood when I told her it was too cold to study in the kitchen so I did my homework under the covers with a flashlight. Then I fell asleep. And one of the other five kids in bed must have peed on it. (p. 21-22)

Another coinvestigator, told about a teacher who did not provide positive comments which was important to him. He said, "For me, positive comments did not come from most teachers. That was abusive. Anytime an adult says something positive, it can enhance a child's ability." Positive comments coming from teachers is a crucial aspect of academic achievement, and the lack of positive comments was viewed as uncaring and unsupporting by these men. When they were young students, they wanted to hear positive comments. Too often, their teachers were

silent; they failed to speak words of encouragement which made them seem not to care.

The lack of care was also demonstrated by teachers allowing them to sleep. One coinvestigator revealed that he would sometimes sleep in class and he noted that the teachers did not say anything. He had a vivid memory of how that made him feel.

They don't mind as long as I'm in the classroom and not bothering anybody. That's pretty much how it was. When I wouldn't show up for class, they would call home, but when I did show up for class, I was just back there sleeping.

When I asked him how it made him feel for teachers to leave him alone while he slept, he stated,

I think it gave me more encouragement to give up. I said to myself, "Well see, they don't care so why should I care?" Instead of thinking about this is something I need, so I should care and try to ask them for the help that I need.

In school and in prison, he indicated that the teachers did not care for him while he was in class. It is simple to understand why this recurring theme in his life would lead to a frustration that would eventually cause him to drop out of school.

During these conversations, one coinvestigator said he believed that teachers were only interested in receiving a paycheck. Another believed that the lack of positive comments from teachers were abusive and another indicated that teachers allowed him to sleep in class. These actions by the teachers demonstrated to the coinvestigator that they did not care. But, there were other reasons coinvestigators gave for believing teachers did not care about them. Coinvestigators in this study were pushed through school without learning much of the intended curriculum.

Being pushed through school meant that one coinvestigator had not done the schoolwork, but teachers promoted him. Although he was eventually sent to a reform school for boys and admitted that he was always in trouble in school, he strongly believed that he was promoted because he was bad.

I don't see how I was passing. I must have been doing the work. But, I just really don't remember doing enough to pass. I always passed and I've never got left back, but I just don't see how I was passing. Because, I never really felt as though they were teaching me anything.

As he spoke to me, I noticed that his facial expression changed to reveal frustration and concern.

In elementary school, I was always getting suspended. I just felt as though I was a real bad kid, but I was always passing. I never got left back. That's what kind of surprised me. If I was so bad and I wasn't doing the work why didn't I never get left back? Then I started figuring that I was just so bad that they were letting me pass to get me out of their class.

Another indicated that he attended school, but was not engaged in classroom discussions. He also sold drugs and played sports his senior year. He said teachers "pushed me through because I was an all-star athlete. They did not press the issue about my work and stuff. At the time, I thought it was cool."

These comments inform us that they were aware that they were being pushed through for reasons other than academic achievement. Although their teachers may have felt sorry for them or made allowances for the athlete's hectic schedule, the teacher's passivity was seen as uncaring. The experience of being pushed through discloses uncaring teachers.

So far, the uncaring ways of teachers reflect what they did not do. Teachers were not engaged with them, not present to them. The omission of action silently said, "I don't care about you." There was another way the teachers actively communicated their lack of care—corporal punishment. The actions of one coinvestigator illustrate a relationship between corporal punishment and aggressive behavior. A teacher had hit him. He said,

He slapped me up so badly, when school was over, I went home and got my pellet gun. I was going to shoot him with it. I waited for him after school, but he never came out. Some of the students had told him. The principal questioned me about it.

Although we would condemn his having a pellet gun at school, we see his reaction tied to the teacher's action. In the slapping, we see the action of an uncaring teacher. In so far as the principal did not prevent the slapping, we note an uncaring principal as well.

All but two of the coinvestigators attended public schools, and they attended Catholic schools. One in his early thirties who had attended a Catholic school indicated that the worse part of school for him was his recollection of the physical abuse he experienced at the hands of teachers. He said, "They had a Sister Benevolent. She was treacherous. She was the quickest woman that I had ever seen. She would beat a person with her hand. She would slap and punch people." Explaining how another teacher in the Catholic school treated his friend, he continued, "Mr. Lonnie had thrown a desk with my friend in it and he went home and told his father. Nothing ever happened."

The second coinvestigator who attended Catholic schools informed me that corporal punishment did not work for him.

Sister Mary Basey, nobody liked her, not even the other sisters. She was just a mean woman. She was the one that gave the corporal punishment. Corporal punishment doesn't work, but it sure hurts. Every-other-day or so, I was getting spanked on the hand with the ruler.

African American males' experiences with corporal punishment in schools is well documented. Opponents of corporal punishment feel that African American males are unfairly physically punished in schools (Richardson and Evans, 1994). Minorities overall are more likely to be physically punished than non-minorities for the same offenses (Harper and Epstein, 1989; Sanson, Prior, Smart, & Oberklaid, 1993; Slate, Perez, Waldrop & Justen, 1991; Zoccolillo, 1993). Even

principals agree that minorities receive more corporal punishment in school than non-minorities (Reynolds, 1990). How can children feel cared for by those who strike them?

Instead of guiding students to learn how to act and to care about others, Kohn (1996) believes that our use of punishment encourages them to focus on the consequence they will suffer if they do something bad. When students are only concerned about the consequences of doing something wrong, corporal punishment hinders their ability to move to the next level of moral development. Although punishment may change the behavior in the short term, the motives and values of students will not be positively influenced. Acceptable behavior is not learned through punishment (Harwig and Ruesch, 1994). Instead a new set of problems may be created.

Advocates of corporal punishment do not fully understand the harm it may cause children who are physically punished. The impact of severe corporal punishment increases the likelihood of aggressive behavior (Kandel, 1991). In addition, using force on children teaches them that aggression is acceptable (Strauss, 1994). A significant majority of criminals were regularly punished as children (Gordon, 1989).

Coinvestigators described caring teachers as attentive, patient, encouraging and as providing praise and guidance to them. Uncaring teachers did not provide positive comments, allowed them to sleep in class, pushed them through because of their behavior or their athletic ability, or inflicted physical punishment upon them. The coinvestigators, like all of us, wanted to be cared about.

They Were Afraid Of Us and We Were Afraid Of Them

Using mirrors as a metaphor can help us understand the theme, "they were afraid of us and we were afraid of them." Two mirrors facing each other bounce an image back and forth. Fear in school was like that for the coinvestigators. They believed that teachers and students were afraid of them, and the coinvestigators were afraid of the teachers.

Fear was sometimes used instrumentally by coinvestigators. One coinvestigator used fear to deflect attention away from his academic deficiencies. He stated:

In my early childhood I was like ah, the bully of the classroom. I would pick on people to try to get their attention. They were scared. That was a long time ago... My biggest fear was worrying about what everybody would think of me when they knew that I couldn't read or spell. That was my biggest fear. I tried to hide that as much as I could by doing something else. Getting on someone else, getting something stirred up.

Two fears are evident here. The coinvestigator was afraid of being devalued so he made other people afraid of him.

In the following passages, we see the reflection of teachers who felt fearful from their interactions with African American males. On the other side, we see the reflection of African American males who felt fearful.

Teachers Were Afraid of Us

The coinvestigators who had been students at predominately white schools were aware that some teachers who maintained greater distance from them were afraid of them. But fearful teachers were not limited to the predominately white schools. One coinvestigator reported a teacher in a predominately black school feared him:

As I look back, I saw a fear from the teachers, as though they were saying, "I wonder if this fool will try to do something to me as I am writing on the board. If I get too close to him, will he try to rip me off or try to do something to me." That fear was like a protection against people. Even though they were nice, they tried to keep you at a certain distance. I can remember their fear. This is how I perceived them as I look back.

Fear in the classroom diminishes the possibilities for constructive student-teacher relationships, and it may result in varying outcomes. Poor student-teacher relationships, for example, negatively affect self-concept (Testeman, 1996). The awareness that someone is afraid of you can stimulate fear in yourself because of the uncertainty of the other persons' actions.

According to one coinvestigator, the teachers' fear resulted in his leaving school. He said,

A lot of times I think that they were afraid of me. Most of the time when I would get to acting up they would tell me to leave the class, and that is what I wanted to do in the first place. I wanted to have a reason, well they told me to leave, so I left.

He seemed to know how to manipulate the teacher's fear of him to escape from school.

We Were Afraid of Some of the Teachers

According to one coinvestigator, "The teachers at the white school were scary." He indicated that he tried to look tough and not be affected by them, but that he was also afraid. When asked why he was afraid of them, he was unable to describe it. Because he knew that they were afraid of him, he was afraid of what they would do to him. He seemed to sense the teachers' fear which in turn made him fearful.

I too have become afraid of people who were afraid of me. My 12 year-old son and I walked into a fast-food restaurant in Wisconsin and everyone began to stare at us. Unaware of their reasons for staring, I assumed that they found the braids in my hair interesting. While standing in line, I noticed that the stares increased. My son sensed it too. He moved closer to me, as though he was afraid. I too began to feel scared, but I was afraid to leave. When we finally reached the front of the line, which had been a long wait, an elderly white man stepped in front of us. He smiled as he glared into my face, but the smile wasn't friendly. The cashier immediately began to take his order. My son quietly said to me, "That is not fair." When the cashier took our order, she was obviously shaken and scared. She was talking fast and placing the order in the computer fast. I

ordered curly fries, but quickly. She took my money quickly and placed the change on the counter quickly. The cashier hurried to bag the order. It wasn't right. "Excuse me, I ordered curly fries, not french fries," I said. She grabbed the bag and exchanged the fries quickly. At that point I was terrified for our safety. The cashier actually threw the bag of food across the counter as if to hurry us out. Finally, I noticed that we were the only African Americans in the building. The walk back to the door and to the car seemed to take hours. Once in the car, I felt sick and terrified. I tried to make sense of what had just happened. "They treated us like that because we are black," my son said.

This is an example of preexisting social conditions about race that caused the spiral of increasing fear. Such conditions also impact classroom relationships. One coinvestigator talked about preexisting negative feelings he experienced in school. "I think that white teachers and I already had negative feelings about each other. That may have made matters worse." He acknowledged that both he and the teacher were already suspicious of each other. Later he said, "I got along ok with white teachers, but I did not feel comfortable with them."

As a new student in a predominately white university, Dr. James Comer (1988) shared his experience of being humiliated in a restaurant because of preexisting societal conditions. He said,

I sat down at the counter and took a look at the menu. When I looked up, the owner was standing over me with his arm pointed toward the door, meaning "out." They didn't serve blacks. I was stunned. It took me a few seconds to comprehend. And then the anger seemed to move up from my legs through my body and threatened to explode in my head. I looked around for help. Nobody said anything. The man next to me looked straight ahead, motionless, silent. Totally humiliated and furious, I somehow moved through the door and stood on the sidewalk in front, looking back inside. I was helpless, devastated. I wanted to pick up a rock and smash the window of that sweetshop. I stumbled back to the dormitory and, in the quiet of my room, I cried. Welcome to Indiana University. (p. 154-55)

Pre-existing conditions fomented fear among white teachers and students and African American students when two schools were desegregated. One coinvestigator talked about the fear he noticed on his first day at the predominately white school. He said,

When we first got there, everybody was real edgy and scary looking. White dudes, they were leaving school early and white girls leaving with them, teachers acting all shaky and stuff like that. They were afraid of us. It was predominately white before East [the high school attended previously] closed.

He explained,

We added fuel to the fire. Just acting up, gang banging, talking loud, pushing and shoving, slapping white boys in the back of their head. Dudes starting gambling with white dudes and taking their money. Broth-

ers got to dating white girls. It was messed up. We just came to the conclusion that they were not used to blacks at their school. We were not used to white people. We had some white students there (East High School), but they were cool. The white students at Bilford would call us nigger sometimes.

Fear is an emotion that impacts various aspects of our lives. For example, Overstreet (1951) believed that racial and religious prejudice is sometimes expressed through fear. The impact of the burden of having others fear oneself has been widely experienced by African American males, but has not been studied to great extent. We know little about how the burden of fear impacts academic achievement and the mental and emotional stability of African American male children.

Stereotypes about African American males may be responsible for many of the existing fears regarding them. However, as we learned from the coinvestigators in this study, fear is contagious. Like images in opposing mirrors, fear reflects or bounces off one person to another. Fear then become a continuing spiral.

It Just Couldn't Have Been My School

The research question which framed this project was: What are the school experiences of African American male inmates like? The essential themes give a partial answer to this question. One main over arching theme was disclosed in the text, and we turn to it.

I read and pondered the themes for a central idea (Orbe, 1993). The idea was to represent the essence of how the coinvestigators experienced their schooling. The primary theme embedded in all the schooling experiences they related seemed to be: "It just couldn't have been my school."

This phrase was used by one coinvestigator as he sought to describe his experiences at a predominately Hispanic elementary school. His mother had removed him from a predominately black school and sent him to the new school. He indicated that he was constantly having to defend himself from Hispanic students and, therefore, was always in trouble.

The word just in "it just couldn't have been my school" lets us know the strength of his feeling about not belonging there. "Just" communicates his inability to describe further how he felt; "just" signifies finality. The text clearly points to the coinvestigator's feeling like they did not belong to the school, and the school did not belong to them.

The first theme is "we don't like to be embarrassed." Embarrassment in school decreases the school's purpose as a place of growth and development and diminishes one's sense of self. One can never truly feel a part of a school if he feel embarrassed there.

The second theme, "Feelin' like I'm on the outside peeping in," signifies that the school couldn't be one's own. If you're "on the outside peeping in" at the school, then you are not a part of the school. Being on the outside looking in makes two locations vivid: the location on the inside and the location where you are standing.

The third theme is "we want to be cared about." All students want and need to feel they are cared about at school. If a student consistently experiences uncaring, he may begin to sense he is not welcomed. A normal response to feeling unwelcome is to leave, to retreat, to withdraw into oneself, or to feel that one is not wanted. School then becomes their school—not ours, not mine.

The fourth theme, "they were afraid of us and we were afraid of them," expresses the fear that they noticed others felt for them and reveals their own fear and mistrust. Both white and black teachers seemed to fear the coinvestigators and some teachers kept their distance from them. White students seemed edgy when two schools were integrated. The coinvestigators feared others who might act unpredictable because of their fear of them. At times, the coinvestigators used fear to their advantage as when one provoked a teacher who sent him home and another who figuratively added fuel to the fire by acting up, shoving and slapping white boys on the back of their heads. As long as the coinvestigators were feared and were fearful, they could not be comfortable in the school. They could not be at home there. If one is fearful, then we see why he says, "It just couldn't have been my school."

I see the four themes woven together producing the central theme. These five themes represent the descriptions of the coinvestigators's lived educational experiences. The coinvestigator who was transferred from a black school to a Hispanic school captured the essence of the lived educational experiences of the coinvestigator in one of his comments. When attempting to describe how the two schools were different he said, "It is not so much as different, but I just knew that this couldn't have been my school. You know it just couldn't have been my school."

Lessons Learned and Reflections

The purpose of this study was to capture the lived educational experiences of nine African American male inmates. Phenomenological research does not pose recommendations for practice. Rather, the reader is invited to extract their own lessons. I have reflected on the research I conducted, and this chapter presents my ideas about two main points that emerged. Those two points are: what I learned from the inmates and questions and issues that I think need additional research.

What I Learned From Coinvestigators

Whose School Is It?

The central theme, it just couldn't have been my school, was a major surprise for me. I was surprised because I had assumed that the coinvestigators would be engaged in activities in their schools and that they, for the most part, enjoy going to school. Another reason why the central theme was a surprise to me is because I saw a connection between the central theme and what I wrote about in chapter one: the disproportionate numbers of African American males in the wrong categories like school expulsions, corporal punishment, special education, low academic achievement, juvenile delinquency, homicide, arrest rates (juvenile and adults), and suicide.

As I reflected on the startling statistics in chapter one that illustrate the disproportionate numbers of African American males who dropout, who are suspended or expelled, or who are pushed out of school, I saw a connection with the central theme. Feeling disassociated from school would be rather appropriate if one experiences suspension and expulsion. If certain students do not feel that the school is theirs, then whose school is it? As I began to ponder this question, I reflected on words used during the interviews that provided clues that the inmates did not feel apart of their school. Words such as "they" and "their" could have been "we" and "our." More of the latter would have reflected an increase in their ownership of the schools they attended. In chapter five, I related Dick Gregory's experience of feeling important to his teacher and in his class because he washed the board every Friday. He must have felt a sense of responsibility for helping making the school run well. However, when he was embarrassed by the teacher, he left school only to return sporadically. A co-investigator explained that teachers in his high school made all the decisions about the courses he should take instead of including him in the selection process. Being included was important to him. In the second grade Orlando Bagwell, the filmmaker, was fearful and uncomfortable and hardly talked to anyone for an entire year of school. One co-investigator talked about not being reached in the Hispanic school. He felt that he belonged to another school. He felt as though since everyone treated him as if he were the bad guy, he was always in trouble and was suspended repeatedly. What can we learn from these testimonies? If students are suspended, shamed, isolated, excluded from decisions about classes they take, they are unlikely to feel ownership of the school they attend. It's not their school.

So whose school is it? Is it the principal's school or the teacher's school? The Hispanic children's? The children who do well academically? If so, how did that come to be? When students visualize their school, of what do they think? Is it the building, other students, teachers or principal that they visualize? When a student is angry and states, "I will never go back to that school!" of whom or what is the student thinking?

Which students feel that they do not belong to their school? Do students feel that they do not belong because they feel mistreated by school officials? Who would admit mistreating the children and are students actually mistreated? The inmates in this study and findings from other studies taught me that mistreatment in schools mirrors mistreatment in other parts of society. The inmates in this study taught me that their experiences in schools reflect the possibility that some teachers viewed them as inferior, worthless, and dangerous just as others in society may. Perhaps, these stereotypes cause those in power to unconsciously sort out which children belong in a school.

Some other points are important to me about a school being a child's school: ownership in a school, listening to African American males differently, and African American males may feel excluded from school.

Ownership in a School Is Important

I believe that a child feeling ownership in a school will significantly reduce

episodes of suspensions, expulsions, and corporal punishment in school. To illustrate this point, we can consider how children value their favorite toys and teenagers value their clothes and shoes. To modify behavior, parents sometimes spank children or refuse to allow them to play with their favorite toy. Sometimes, removing the toy is more effective because children value their toys and their toys are special to them. In addition, children protect their favorite toys from other children. Likewise, teenagers take pride in their sneakers and their clothes. Appearance is important to them and having cool sneakers is a reflection of who they are. We understand that children value what is important to them because those items are protected. Children are excited about new toys and teenagers are excited about new clothes and sneakers; they take pride in their ownership and property. Likewise, students can value and take ownership in their school. School should also be an exciting and rewarding time in their lives and should not be filled with negative memories.

School ownership may take varied forms, but everyone in the school could be responsible for it. Students will be happy to accept ownership in their school if they are treated as though they are wanted and welcomed by other students, staff, teachers, and administrators. I believe that when students know that they are working toward wonderful, worthwhile opportunities and feel wanted in the school, they will take ownership of their school. If students are made to feel unwanted, they feel they are on the outside of the school. When students feel on the outside, neither the school property nor others in the school are important to them. Everything on the inside becomes something or someone to work against as it works against outsiders. It is important that students take ownership in their school. This can be accomplished if they believe that they are special, that they belong in the school, and that despite their differences from other students, they have something to contribute to the school.

Listening Differently to African American Males Is Important

In chapter one it was noted that each day 444 African American youth between the ages of 16 and 24 drop out of school, 1, 198 are corporally punished, and 4,404 are suspended (Children's Defense Fund, 1996). African American males account for a disproportionately high number of those students. I believe that allowing them to have a voice regarding their school experiences is important for African American males. Perhaps we will learn that many of them feel like outsiders in their own school. Since the intent is to have good schools and to provide opportunities for our children to become productive adults, listening to what they have to say about their educational experiences is important.

In our efforts to improve the educational experiences of African American males, we must learn to listen to them differently. We must listen with our hearts as well as with our ears. We must improve our knowledge of the conditions in which African American males live and must survive in society. We must make ourselves aware of existing stereotypes about African American males and ways in which we may perpetuate them.

How do we listen to African American males better? Listening well requires more than just fine tuning our ears to them. Listening requires us to consider everything about them and to listen with care and concern. If we are interested in improving the way we listen to African American males, we can ask ourselves key questions. What do they disclose? What do they not disclose? How do they disclose themselves? How do they respond to who we disclose ourselves to be? And, how do we help to make them comfortable with us and how do we become comfortable with them? We can listen to who they are and how they talk to us, and to each other. My brothers, cousins, and nephews laugh and talk a lot. Quite often, it seems like they are competing to be heard. Everything is a joke, and to live happily around them, one must have a sense of humor. If one were to observe our family gatherings, they would see lively and sometimes loud conversations. This aspect of our family gathering is part of our family culture. I see other young African American males acting similarly. Although such lively and sometimes loud, spirited conversations are not appropriate for all settings, especially the classroom, but understanding this aspect of their culture is important. I am reminded of an African American female, graduate student who was substituting in a school and was told that the African American and Latino males in the class were terrible and are often sent to the office for their actions. She informed us that in her opinion, they were not that bad because they acted like her African American brothers and cousins. When she wanted them to settle down she told them to and they cooperated (Shaw, 1996).

Most importantly, we must understand that African American males are not monolithic as they are stereotyped to be. Each is different; they are unique individuals. If we provide them with more opportunities to talk to us, we will learn that each is unique. We can learn this through listening to them in the classroom and through additional research studies.

Feeling Excluded From School Leads to Negative Consequences

We think of school as a place for learning, opportunity, and personal growth. This research has taught me that many African American males may feel excluded from school. How is it that school is such a negative place for them? Why is it that a disproportionate number of them leave school—potentially a place for learning, opportunity, and personal growth— and continue to experience negative consequences outside of school?

School for them is almost like a survival camp. It is a hurdle for them to jump over and if they do not jump high enough, there are severe consequences for them. These consequences include being out of school and being wide-open to the violence in the streets and the negative stereotypes with which they are confronted in the larger society. Another consequence may be the inability to obtain employment or to pursue higher education opportunities. An unfortunate consequence for a disproportionate number of African American males is subsequent incarceration. Following incarceration a host of other problems are likely.

Attempting to cope with feelings of exclusion were evident in this research. I have also learned that in educational settings, male bonding is an important as-

pect of the lives of African American males and may be a response to feeling unconnected to the school. Interviews with the inmates and stories from the literature about successful African American males informed me that rough play such as wrestling on the playground is part of the bonding process. As a female educator, I admit that my concern is for their safety and if I were responsible for children on the playground, I would not allow them to hurt each other. But, I have also realized that as females, our protective instinct may have caused us to place too many restrictions on boys. Perhaps, we want them to be passive in the classroom, to sit quietly as mannequins would. Do stereotypes of African American males cause male educators to treat them differently? Do educators contribute to their feeling excluded by suspensions for episodes of male bonding which may be framed to as fighting by teachers? Through the experiences of the inmates, I have learned that educators must ask questions such as these to help African American males feel included in their schools. Through this research I have learned that school could become a more welcoming place for them so that they will learn to value and enjoy education and sense that the school they attend is their school.

The Need for Additional Research

Research is a search for knowledge. More research is necessary to improve our understanding of how to work with African American males. When combined with other studies, the uniqueness (Orbe, 1993) of the African American male experience is enhanced and will produce even greater understanding. The uniqueness of the lived educational experiences of African American males is too vast to understand in one study. Throughout the writing of this book, many more issues and questions about the lived educational experiences of African American occurred to me.

Providing Voice to Diverse African American Males

Questions from peers about this study indicated they were concerned that it would be pathologically focused. They believed so because of their contention that African American male inmates would probably have juvenile delinquency histories and thus were probably problem students in schools. A common question was, "Why don't you interview successful African American males instead?" They believed the study would reinforce negative stereotypes. But they were unaware of the stance of phenomenological research. Phenomenological research is a caring process which seeks to bring forth the individual's meanings of their everyday lived experiences.

Interviewing different African American males is necessary. I support the continuation of providing voice to successful African American males regarding their educational experiences. But we must remember the diversity of African American males because they are not monolithic as society views them to be. Giving voice to African American males of all walks of life would provide greater insight and may offer strategies for success that would be useful as we work with other African American males.

Rather than talk only to men whose educational experiences are in the past, providing opportunities for students to describe their experiences while still in school would be helpful. A supportive environment and trust of the interviewer are central to obtaining rich testimonies from children and youth. We might commission a mosaic of studies that focus on young African American males' experiences in schools. Perhaps a study within schools that would allow even kindergarten boys to tell us what school is like might disclose these young boys are already experiencing challenges in school. I think this because a friend told me that on the second day of kindergarten, his five-year-old son was sent to timeout because he twice gave correct answers. The teacher felt that he answered when he was not called on and separated him from the class as punishment. This story suggests that even African American male children in kindergarten can tell us much about school experiences.

In another episode, an African American male in the fourth grade was always cited as disruptive in the classroom. His mother eventually removed him from the school and enrolled him in a magnet school. His disruptive behavior ceased and he became an honor roll student that school year. Perhaps a study may identify other situations involving African American males cited as disruptive and solutions to their dilemmas that will improve their academic pursuits and the school environment. A mosaic of studies would therefore include elementary, junior high, and high school students. A more elaborate mosaic of studies would include public, private, charter and alternative schools.

Describing African American Males' Experiences with Work

Schooling isn't experienced in a vacuum. We expect children to leave school and become adults who take an important roles in the workplace. What are some experiences of African American males that lessen their chances to succeed in the workforce? How do those experiences affect them in the community and the family? Though these questions do not address education specifically, they can help us learn more about their experiences so that we can work with them in educational settings and prepare them for the workforce.

In one of my interviews, one co-investigator discussed work-related issues that occurred while he was in high school. Another discussed problems associated with working in the correctional facility. He said,

Black men are being placed in the lower skilled jobs like the yard crew. If you take a tour through this building... you would see that there are more people in skilled positions of noncolor than there are of color. That's not really indicative of the skills of the African American people in this institution. There are a lot of intelligent brothers here. Unfortunately they are not getting jobs... If we are lacking confidence because of experiences that we encounter here, what is our chance of getting out there and getting in positions where we can be successful? Cause we're go' be perpetuating the same type of minds that we are forming here. I try to make it a point personally to go after goals that may even seem

difficult to obtain while I'm in here because I want to build up my confidence that I can do it.

Are other African American males outside prison experiencing such issues? A phenomenological inquiry into their experiences would provide insight as we prepare them for the workforce. Perhaps their experiences have caused them additional concerns about employment. Discussions with some coinvestigators revealed that they were concerned about their economic and social status upon leaving the correctional facility. Upon release, they would still be jobless and absent from the workforce. They expressed concern about not having the necessary skills and level of education necessary to be qualified for 21st century employment.

Their concerns about employment would be met with additional challenges. For example, they would have criminal records and may be attracted to coping financially through illegal means. In addition, they will face racial and cultural impediments. As a result, given the disproportionate number of incarcerated African American males, we are likely to continue to see increasing rates of poverty and income differentials. Discrimination in the world of work (The Job Crisis for Black Youth, 1971; Pettigrew, 1973) continues to be a concern as we approach the 21st century.

Describing Experiences Outside School That May Impact Their Academic Achievement

Another important issue revealed in this study are the experiences and influences outside school that made significant impact on these coinvestigators. Since these factors were external to school, they were not included as a theme of educational experience. However, a label for these outside influences could be "too much of the craziness." The term, the craziness, used by one co-investigator, referenced the influences of drugs, gang activity, girls, family disfunctionality, and juvenile delinquency. He said, "I haven't seen one person get shot or killed here. At my school and at home, that was an everyday occurrence." Another co-investigator indicated his concerns about returning to the streets.

The main thing that's been on my mind lately is going home. Wondering how that's gonna be. I know it's not gonna be easy. I know it's way harder out there now than it was seven or eight years ago. It's so much negativity around.

The Public Schools as a Criminal Tracking System for African American Males

Kunjufu (1983), believes that public schools contribute to the destruction of African American boys. Kozol (1991) believes that the use of handcuffs in school is better preparation for African American males than they realize, because 90% of the male inmates of the jails in New York City are dropouts of the public schools.

I observed young black males in my own community be suspended from, pushed-out of or dropout of school only later to become involved in the correctional system. This study indicates that the coinvestigators experienced situations in school (fear, uncaring, embarrassment, disconnection) that many may expect to exist within a place like a prison. Do the public schools create a criminal tracking system for some students?

Educational Experiences of African American Females

Many friends and colleagues questioned why I did not include African American females in the study. My main concern was that African American males were considered an endangered specie and were incarcerated in disproportionately high numbers. Overtime, I have become more aware of the unique problems faced by African American girls in schools. Unfortunately, the number of African American females being suspended from school and being incarcerated has now reached disproportionately high numbers as well. A separate mosaic of studies would provide insight into the unique educational experiences of African American females.

Females face discrimination because of their gender. Their struggles in school may be similar in some ways to those of African American males. Just as the intersection of race and gender makes schooling complex for African American males, so it does for African American females. Take for example a young woman who was sexually abused at home and has difficulty working in close proximity with male teachers. Her method of dealing with being uncomfortable with male teachers is to act out in class. Many educators believe that teachers are only responsible for teaching the class and they believe that if she acts out in class, she should be removed or punished. Her plight alerts us to the fact that there are experiences of females which we should study separately from males.

All Students Should Feel That the School Is Their School

Ultimately, the school should value all students and help them become contributing members of society. If we value them, we will provide them with opportunities to become responsible family members, employees, and citizens. Some of the tools they will need include critical thinking, flexibility when dealing with change, and confidence in their creative talents. Additional tools include technological literacy, good communication skills and solid analytical and synthesizing abilities. Another tool is the ability to make decisions based on different levels of information. They will also benefit from the ability to transfer knowledge from one setting to another as well as to deal with conflicting viewpoints. They need an educational environment that is challenging and that encourages them to seek higher educational or technical educational opportunities that will assist them in their competition in the workforce and subsequently their careers. Of course, this cannot happen if students feel that the school they attend is not their school.

African American males will have a sense of belonging in their schools if they believe that the education they are receiving will offer them a positive, bright future. They will be encouraged by teachers and students' high expectations for

them. We can express our expectations for them by building on their strengths instead of punishing them for their weaknesses. We can also give them opportunities and responsibilities. Dick Gregory believed that his elementary school could not function properly if he did not wash the blackboard in his classroom. He felt important because of his responsibility, and he believed that his teacher saw him as important.

African American males will have a sense of belonging in their schools if we surround them with care. We can frame who they are and what they do in the most positive images consistent with reality (Noddings, 1984). We can extend ourselves to see the best in them and signal to them that we believe they belong. School should feel as comfortable and welcoming as a good home.

African Americans males will have a sense of belonging in their school if they have an opportunity to bond with other African American males. Even some African American males at Harvard University Law School felt the need to bond with each other. Does this suggest that we need to become more tolerant of their rough play and provide opportunities for them to bond in school? How can we foster a sense of connectedness to each other, the school, and the community among them?

Students need to feel like insiders in their schools. They do not wish to stand on the outside looking in. Students desire to feel that they belong to the school and that the school is their school.

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Funding Sources for the Education of Incarcerated Adults in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin

Sharon Abel

Abstract

The on-going uncertainty of funding for the education of incarcerated adults in the Sheboygan County Jail of Wisconsin was the impetus for this study. Because very little research has been aimed at identifying potential funding sources for local adult inmate education programs, this study was conducted to determine the plausibility of obtaining additional or alternative funding for the purpose of expanding or insuring the continuance of the educational services presently offered to Sheboygan's adult inmates by Lakeshore Technical College.

The descriptive design used for researching funding opportunities was based on the study's goals to determine what educational programs were offered to adult inmates in Wisconsin's county jails, what institutions/agenices were co-operating to provide such services, how the educational services were funded, what was being done to involve local communities in the education of county jail adult inmates, and what funding sources Sheboygan County and/or Lakeshore Technical College might consider pursuing. Surveys designed for the Wisconsin Technical College System Basic Education Deans and the Wisconsin Jail Administrators provided information about Wisconsin county jail populations, the educational needs of adult inmates, and how the counties' administration and/or technical college districts resolved or are resolving funding issues. Additional suggestions for potential funding sources were provided by the Wisconsin Technical College System Plan/Application Coordinators, the Circuit Court Judges of Sheboygan County, Lakeshore Technical College's Special Educational Services Advisory Committee, and the Wisconsin Technical College System Instructors of the Incarcerated.

Based on this study's research conducted between June and November 1997 the type of educational programming most commonly provided to Wisconsin's county jail adult inmates is GED/High School Equivalency Diploma/Adult Secondary Education. Most frequently the local Wisconsin Technical College System districts are the agencies that cooperate with the county jails to provide education programs for adult inmates.

A variety of sources are used to fund the programs. The most common are local technical college district dollars, county funds, state/federal grants, and

church/synagogue donations. The potential sources identified for funding future programs mirror those noted above.

There is little to no promotion or publicity for local inmate education programs. The responsibility for any effort that does exist is most likely carried by the Jail Administrators and/or the Instructors. Most citizens are thought to have a very mild opinion to no opinion on the subject of educating adults incarcerated in county jails and there is very little community involvement in the programs. Sheriff's Department/County Jail Administration and Technical College Instructional Staff/Administration are most likely to initiate cooperation between the community and the jail. Such cooperation has garnered positive results including increased educational services for inmates.

Although the study's focus was on funding for adult education in Sheboygan County, the results of the study are generalizable to some degree. Other county jails and educational institutions might make use of and benefit from the data.

Research Problem and Objectives

Background of the Problem

The goals of Lakeshore Technical College's Adult Education for the Incarcerated Project in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, focus on the obtaining, retaining, and upgrading of inmate employment and the continuing of education post-release. Like other Wisconsin jail programs Sheboygan County aims "to help inmates learn how to maintain successful employment and interpersonal relationships that potentially reduce the likelihood of their return to incarceration, as well as many other costs of crime" (Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance, 1995, p. 1).

Presently the jail education project is funded cooperatively with 45 percent of its support provided by Lakeshore Technical College, 13 percent by Sheboygan County Sheriff's Department, and 42 percent by the Adult Education Act (T. Hilke, Dean of LTC, personal communication, June 12, 1997). The funds cover the cost for Adult Basic and Adult Secondary Education instruction only; no vocational education or distance learning opportunities are funded, nor is there any funding for a jail library.

The yearly State grant application for the Adult Education Act (AEA) federal funds is extremely competitive; therefore, one can not assume a continuation grant will be awarded even if the County's Adult Education for the Incarcerated Project has a successful reputation and has surpassed its goals. The competition grows with each passing year as increasing numbers of adults are booked into jails (Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance, 1995, and United States Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1995), spurring more counties to request educational services; thus increasing competition for the same funds (C. Bagley, personal communication, June 19, 1997). Although AEA funding has been relatively stable in the past seven years (T. Hilke, personal communication, June 12, 1997), the amount falls behind what is needed with the increasing costs of components such as instructional materials and staff benefit packages (C. Bagley, personal communication, June 19, 1997). Also, grant program require-

ments change, allocations dry up, federal dollars stipulated for specific programs can run out or be cut back unexpectedly. Thus, to insure the continuation of a government funded project, a contingency plan is necessary (Government Information Services).

Statement of the Problem

The on-going uncertainty of funding for the education of Sheboygan County's incarcerated adults is at the foundation of almost every problem encountered by the Adult Education for the Incarcerated Project in the Sheboygan County Jail of Wisconsin. Concerning the consistent struggle for survival, Cynthia Bagley, Program Director of Rock County Education and Criminal Addictions Program and retired Dean of Blackhawk Technical College in Janesville, WI, stated that advocating for continued and increased funds distracts the jail instructor from her "primary responsibility, daily delivery of educational services. If the status of jail education programming is going to be more than a yearly fix, then there needs to be professional advocacy to seek and maintain long-term funding opportunities" (personal communication, June 19, 1997).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify potential funding sources that could assist in the support and possible expansion of county jail education programs for adult inmates. Dr. Ken Kerle, Managing Editor of *American Jails: The Magazine of the American Jail Association*, encouraged the author to research the topic of jail education funding, because very little research has been conducted on the subject (personal communication, June 11, 1997). Daniel Sherman and Michael O'Leary of Pelavin Associates, Inc., reported to the U. S. Department of Education Office of Policy & Planning that there is no centralized state level data collection for local correctional education in any state.

Research Questions

Focusing on Wisconsin, this study answers the following questions:

1. What educational programs are presently offered to adult inmates in county jails?
2. What institutions/agencies cooperate with county jails to provide on-site educational services for adult inmates?
3. How is the education of adults incarcerated in county jails funded?
4. What are county jails and cooperating agencies doing to involve the community in the education of their incarcerated citizens?
5. What funding sources would be most rational for Sheboygan County and/or Lakeshore Technical College to pursue?

Significance of the Study

This study was conducted to determine the plausibility of obtaining additional or alternative funding to supplement present funding for the purpose of expanding the educational services offered adult inmates in Sheboygan or to replace

existing funding should the need arise. Proposals could potentially be written to and grants requested of any of this study's identified funding sources for which Sheboygan County Jail and/or Lakeshore Technical College are eligible to apply (K. McNellis, LTC Instructor Coordinator, personal communication, June 19, 1997).

Although the study's focus was on funding for adult education in Sheboygan County, the results of the study are generalizable enough for other county jails and/or educational institutions to make use of and benefit from the data (C. Bagley, personal communication, June 19, 1997).

Limitations

A limitation of this study was time. With the increasing amount of information about funding opportunities available by way of the Internet and because the survey used in this study captures only a moment, this report will not contain all funding options currently available.

The study was limited by the survey instrument, because the survey was developed by the researcher. Content validity was checked, but reliability was not proven. Some of those asked to complete the survey omitted sections and others chose not to participate altogether. Since some respondents may have opposed educating criminal offenders, personal and professional opinions could have adversely affected the results of the survey.

The scope of the study was limited by cost. The cost of surveying county jails and cooperating educational institutions outside of the State of Wisconsin was too great to justify, especially when detailed information regarding jail education programs could be gathered from secondary sources such as correctional education journals.

Definition of Terms

For clarity in reading, the following terms used in this study are defined:

Adult Basic Education: Instruction designed for [a person eighteen years or older] who has minimal competence in reading, writing, and computation, and is not sufficiently competent to meet the educational requirements of adult life in the U. S. or is not sufficiently competent to speak, read, or write the English language to allow employment commensurate with the adult's real ability. Instruction includes grade levels zero through eight (M. A. Jackson, Wisconsin Technical College System State Consultant referencing the U. S. Office of Education, personal communication, June 17, 1997).

Adult Secondary Education: Instruction designed for [a person eighteen years or older] who does not have a certificate of graduation or its equivalent from a school providing secondary education. Instruction includes grade levels nine through twelve (M. A. Jackson, personal communication, June 17, 1997).

Continuation grant: Additional funding awarded for budget periods following the initial budget period of a multi-year discretionary grant or cooperative grant agreement (U. S. Department of Education, 1995).

Correctional Education: The part of the total correctional process that focuses on changing the behavior of offenders through planned learning experiences and learning environments, and it seeks to develop or enhance knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values of the incarcerated (U. S. Department of Education Division of Adult Education and Literacy, 1997).

Jails: Locally operated institutions which normally hold people awaiting trial or serving sentences of a year or less (Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, 1996).

Match requirement: A nonfederal cost-share required by some federal grant programs. The grantee must contribute part of the project's cost as a condition for receiving the grant. Depending on the program's requirements, the grantee may obtain part or all of the match from third-party donors. Grantees may contribute the match in cash or in-kind, meaning property, equipment or services in lieu of cash (Government Information Services).

Prisons: State and federal institutions which primarily house convicted felons serving sentences of more than a year (Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, 1996).

Recidivism rate: The percentage of offenders released from prison or jail who will return to prison or jail (Office of Correctional Education, U. S. Department of Education, 1996).

Review of Literature

Introduction

Following the "Model for Proposal Development" (Hall, 1988, p. 22) shown in Figure 1, Lakeshore Technical College and the Sheboygan County Jail assessed the "capability" and the "need" for providing on-site educational services to adult inmates prior to the researcher's initial employment in 1991 as the instructor responsible for the Adult Education for the Incarcerated Project. Since that time the instructor has made efforts to advocate for the continuance and possible expansion of the education project by "gathering necessary data," for example, a five year follow up study on student employment and education outcomes (Abel, 1997) and by "building support and involvement," for example, public speaking engagements to increase public awareness of Sheboygan's criminal offender population and their educational needs. With those portions of Hall's "Model for Proposal Development" complete or in progress, the next steps are "identifying alternative approaches" and "selecting funding sources."

The intent of the literature review is to discover the human and financial resources, reported in the literature, that already do supply or could potentially supply the various educational programs offered in Wisconsin's county jails.

Limitations

Detailed information about the funding of educational programs for county jail inmates is difficult to find except through direct inquiry. Articles are published in newspapers, professional newsletters and journals (see References); however, the information tends to focus on program purpose and description with anecdotal accounts from successful former inmates/students. Although funding sources are sometimes mentioned, usually only a short paragraph or two is

devoted to the topic.

Most surveys of correctional education focus data collection on state and federal prisons rather than county jails (Kirshstein & Best, 1997, p. 2). When surveyed county jails tend to provide less information about their education programs than, for example, state prisons.

This may arise in part because jails are short-term facilities with more limited education offerings. Unlike state agencies, jails have limited staff responsible for providing education and tend to rely on personnel from local school districts and community colleges to provide education to their inmates. Much of the funding for education at jails comes from state departments of education and is not administered directly by jail personnel. (Sherman & O'Leary, 1994, p. 7)

Even extensive surveys on jail inmate programs, such as those conducted by the Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance Statistical Analysis Center, do not detail funding any further than the following choices: staff, contract, or volunteer; thus, there is relatively little information on amounts and sources of funding for jail education projects (Sherman & O'Leary, p. 8).

Local Correctional Education Programs

Of the 72 county jails in Wisconsin, 67 responded to the Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance 1995 Survey of Wisconsin Jails Inmate Programs. Of the 67 respondents, 53 identified that GED/literacy/Adult Basic Education was a formal part of their jail programming. Two were operated by jail staff, 24 by contracted personnel, 19 by community volunteers, and 8 by a combination of the aforementioned. Of the 67 county jails, 26 identified job seeking skills development training and 23 vocational education as a formal part of their jail programming.

Nationally programs range from a single citizen volunteering to give a couple of hours per week in the fight against illiteracy to a large, full-time comprehensive program such as is offered in Rock County, Wisconsin. Blackhawk Technical College (BTC), Rock County Sheriff's Department (RCSD), and Rock Valley Correctional Programs, Inc. (RVCP) cooperate to provide inmates with RECAP (Rock County Education and Criminal Addictions Program). Staff from the three agencies provide Life Work and Work Release Coordination, Vocational Instruction, Criminal Thinking Theory, Basic Skills Education, AODA Drug and Alcohol Group, and Employability Skills. Not only is the staffing a cooperative effort but so is the funding; sources have included the Department of Education Cooperative Demonstration Program Correctional Education, the Adult Education Act, and the Office of Justice Assistance. Additionally RECAP contracted with the Center on Education and Work at the University of Wisconsin to provide ongoing outside program evaluation (Bagley, 1996).

Funding Sources

Funding and potential funding sources for local adult inmate education projects include: government grants, foundation grants, donations, and fees. The obtain-

ing of financial support relies on obtaining community support. Citizens and public officials alike, for the most part, have a very limited knowledge of their county jails. "Relatively few of a community's citizens are ever exposed to the jail, and most prefer not to be near it or even think about it" (Kiebusch, 1997, p. 5). This attitude regarding jails and the incarcerated limits the amount and type of funding sources available for local correctional education.

Funding may start at the local level as it did with Instructors Nina Walker and Judy Johnson's fundraising efforts in Ozaukee County, Wisconsin. They personally organized their Sheriff's Department Administrators, their churches' ministers, and their community's political representatives and concerned citizens to create the Ozaukee County Jail Literacy Project (J. Johnson, personal communication, June 25, 1997). Such strong initial local support is not the norm; more often, aside from agreeing to meet a reasonable match requirement, the local government steps in only after other alternatives have been exhausted, are no longer viable or are insufficient to meet the needs of the program. For example, in 1969 the Montgomery County (Maryland) Detention Center, along with the Adult Education Division of the Montgomery County Public Schools, applied for and received Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) funds to establish a model education program which was later called the Model Learning Center. The grant was accepted by the local government and was matched by local and federal government funds. This cooperation continued when the LEAA grant was extended and expanded for another two years. In 1974 the federal LEAA funding ended and the "Montgomery County Detention Center requested funds in its annual budget to continue the program under the administration of the County Board of Education. The same arrangement continues today" (James, 1996, p. 27).

Government Grants

In 1996, thirteen of the sixteen Wisconsin Technical College System Districts were awarded grants by the Adult Education Act (AEA) Basic Grant Program for the education of adult criminal offenders in correctional facilities (WTCS, 1997, p. 25). The AEA, as amended by the National Literacy Act of 1991, authorizes grants to State educational agencies for adult basic and adult secondary education programs. The Act requires that at least 10 percent of the State's grant be used for educational programs for institutionalized adults, such as criminal offenders in correctional facilities (U. S. Department of Education Division of Adult Education and Literacy, 1997). The Adult Education Act grant is a discretionary grant, it is awarded to eligible recipients based on a competitive review process (U. S. Department of Education, 1995). Some discretionary grants are awarded directly by the federal government, while others like the AEA is "awarded to states, which then subgrant funds to local agencies selected by the state" (Government Information Services, p. 28).

The National Literacy Act of 1991 established two such discretionary grant programs for services to the incarcerated. State and local corrections or correctional education agencies are eligible to apply for Literacy and Life Skills Pro-

grams for State and Local Prisoners grants to establish "demonstration or system-wide functional literacy programs for adult prisoners" and to establish "programs designed to reduce recidivism through the development and improvement of life skills for reintegration into society" (U. S. Department of Education Division of Adult Education and Literacy, 1997, p. 2).

A formula grant is a grant that the U. S. Department of Education is "directed by Congress to make to recipients, for which the amount is established by a formula based on certain criteria," such as population or poverty (U. S. Department of Education, 1995, p. A-4). These grants are awarded by formula to state agencies, and then subgranted to local agencies either according to a similar formula or on a discretionary basis" (Government Information Services). An example of granting by formula is the funding available because of the Perkins Act. The Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act authorizes grants to state educational agencies for criminal offender vocational education programs (U. S. Department of Education Division of Adult Education and Literacy, 1997). The Perkins Act Basic Grant Program authorizes the Secretary of Education to carry out projects that "support examples of successful cooperation between the private sector and public agencies in vocational education." Recently, the U. S. Department of Education has awarded grants under the Cooperative Demonstrations Program to vocational education programs for criminal offenders. "Eligible applicants include: state and local educational agencies; postsecondary institutions; institutions of higher education; and other public and private agencies, organizations and institutions" (U. S. Department of Education Division of Adult Education and Literacy, 1997).

The various Offices of the United States Department of Education are not the only ones to consider when searching for funds for local correctional education programs. Funding alternatives might be available through the United States Department of Justice, including: National Institute of Corrections (NIC), Office of Justice Assistance (OJA), National Institute of Justice (NIJ), and less likely but possible Bureau of Justice Statistics. (Wisconsin Correctional Association Conference, personally attended, October 13, 1997). The Employment Education Project of the Waukesha County Jail in Wisconsin was funded primarily through the Office of Justice Assistance (Wisconsin Jails Announcer, 1996).

Some governmental funding sources provide incentives for county jails to provide educational programming. By supplying education to inmates, county jails may, for example, be eligible for food and commodities through Federal Subsidy Programs (MAJPS, 1993).

Grants are available through levels of government other than federal. A state can provide grants, not only from federal revenue-sharing monies and block grant funds, but they can also distribute state-generated funds. City councils and county boards can provide grants to their jurisdictions from locally generated funds such as parking meter revenue and from trickle down monies from the state and federal government (Bauer, 1988).

Foundation Grants

Independent Foundations are private grantmaking organizations established to aid social, educational, religious or other charitable activities. Independent foundations make contributions to other nonprofit organizations for such charitable purposes. Broad discretionary giving is usually allowed but specific guidelines may apply. About 70 percent limit their giving to specific localities (The Foundation Center, 1985, and Government Information Services).

Company-Sponsored Foundations are legally independent grantmaking organizations with close ties to the corporation providing funds. These foundations differ from independent foundations in that they are established by existing, for-profit corporations through contributions from company profits or endowments, or both. Giving tends to be in fields related to corporate activities or in communities where the companies operate. They usually give more grants but in smaller dollar amounts than independent foundations (The Foundation Center, 1985, and Government Information Services). "The private marketplace consists of 2.3 million corporations and 24,859 foundations. Estimates are that only 30% to 40% of corporations are contributors. Therefore, the total number of potential private grantors is approximately 800,000 corporations and 24,859 foundations" (Bauer, 1988, p. 161).

Community Foundations are publicly supported organizations that award grants for social, educational, religious or other charitable projects within their local regions. These foundations are designated as public charities by the Internal Revenue Service, since they raise their money from a broader group than independent foundations (The Foundation Center, 1985, and Government Information Services).

Operating Foundations and Corporate Giving Programs generally do not provide grants to organizations outside of their own. Operating Foundations use most of their incomes to run their own charitable programs, and Corporate Giving Programs ordinarily contribute directly to charities (Government Information Services).

Donations

Professional associations such as the American Association of University Women (P. Reisinger, personal communication, June 27, 1997) and the American Jail Association could be approached with requests for donations to support adult education for the incarcerated projects. The Correctional Education Association joined forces with Tara Holland, Miss America 1997, to provide literacy materials or technical assistance, or both, to every women's correctional facility in the United States. Major education companies, including the Steck-Vaughn Company, Invest Learning, American Guidance Service, and Globe Fearon have volunteered to provide free textbooks and software to participating institutions (Miss America champions literacy, 1997). Some book publishers donate materials to agencies in need through the National Book Program (PLUS, CEA, & NIC, 1989, p. 20).

Building partnerships with other agencies ranging from the military (Platt, 1996) to the local public library can benefit an educational project exponentially. In Waukesha County, Wisconsin, "the local federated library system submitted a grant on behalf of the jail and received federal funding in the amount of \$8,000 to provide educational, self-help, and quality recreation reading materials to the Waukesha County Jail inmate library and classroom" (Marciniak & Schnabl, 1996, p. 54).

Civic clubs such as Rotary, Kiwanis, and Optimist and church organizations might be willing donors of time and money (MAJPS, 1993). The Ozaukee County Jail Literacy Project has received donations from over 100 organizations, clubs, and churches. St. John's Lutheran Church in Grafton, Wisconsin, is the project's primary sponsor (Buenger, 1995). In Waukesha County, Wisconsin, "local church groups solicit donations of library books, textbooks, typewriters, computer hardware and software, volunteer training funds, hygiene items, bus tickets, seasonal clothing, religious reading material, holiday celebration items, school and art supplies" (Marciniak & Schnabl, 1996, p. 54).

Fundraising strategies of Instructors Nina Walker and Judy Johnson and their advocacy group, Friends of the Ozaukee County Jail Literacy Project, include: holding a holiday teddy bear and doll show and sale; distributing fliers advertising the opportunity to "Educate-an-Inmate" with a one hundred dollar donation which covers books, testing fees, and supplies; selling Ozaukee Landmark stationery and a Christmas ornament series (J. Johnson, personal communication, June 25, 1997).

Fundraising events can be participatory or entertaining, or both. Examples of events: A Tisket, a Tasket, a Literary Basket organized by members of Altrusa International of Sheboygan, Friends of Mead Public Library, and The Literacy Council of Sheboygan County included a silent auction, live auction, and raffle (personally attended, September 27, 1997); American Cancer Society Road America Four Mile Walk/Run (personally attended, October 25, 1997); and the UW-Sheboygan County Foundation's Chicken and All That Jazz, a picnic with live continuous music (advertised in Sheboygan Area School District Community Newsletter, August 1997).

Fees

The 1996 Florida Legislature enacted a statute allowing county jails to charge inmates a fair portion of their daily subsistence, and in August of the same year the 3,600 inmates of the Broward County Jail System began paying \$2.00 per day for a room, or rather a cell. Logistics and opposition did not deter Broward Sheriff's Office's Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation from reaching their team goal to return over one-half million dollars annually to Broward County taxpayers (McC Campbell, 1997).

The Minnesota Association of Jail Programs and Services suggests using telephone system commissions and commissary profits to purchase items for inmates. The commissary or canteen is a small store with a walk-up window or an order and deliver system within the correctional facility. Inmates can buy per-

sonal items, food, candy, and beverages. In Texas, it has been suggested that "prison and jail inmates should pay sales tax on items that are taxable to the general public... The primary advantage of this change would be an increase in the General Revenue Fund from higher sales tax collections." Local economies would also benefit from the increase in city and county tax collections (<http://www.window.texas.gov>).

Community Involvement

Green Bay Education Association (GBEA) President Miles Remsing stated: "Quality education is not going to occur without the support of the community" (Vanguard Project, 1997, p. 11). People do not care about that which they do not know, and unfortunately those in the jail business do not do a very good job of promoting themselves (Duncan, 1997). The Minnesota Association of Jail Programs and Services suggests inviting citizens inside the jail for community tours, inviting the media to observe the programming, and providing the media with information about the positive benefits of the programs including money saved (1993). Taking inmates out of the jail also calls attention to program needs. In Dane County, Wisconsin, inmates with Huber Law privileges have the opportunity to apply for various volunteer general labor projects in the community such as cleaning parks, roadsides, lake shores and neighborhood centers; painting playgrounds; clearing brush from park trails; or helping care for animals at the Humane Shelter (Dane County Jail Program Guide, 1997). Inviting suitable individuals to participate on an advisory committee for the jail education project could increase community awareness of program needs since the purposes of such a committee could include acting as a public relations body which lobbies for funding, resources, and program enhancements (Duncan, 1997).

The Waukesha County Jail adult inmate educational programs are supported by a tremendous community effort.

More than 200 volunteers are active directly in the jail and another 50 volunteers, program presenters, and agency representatives are active in the Waukesha community in support of the Waukesha County Jail's inmate program endeavor. Inmate programs facilitated by community volunteers include Alcoholics Anonymous, Waukesha County Department of Health and Human Services AODA volunteers, religious services, individual religious visitors, speakers' bureau, literacy volunteer tutors, and volunteer mentors in the Employment Education Project. (Marciniak, 1996, p. 54)

The Waukesha County Jail Employment Education Project funded primarily through the Office of Justice Assistance (OJA) includes a mentoring program. Community volunteers meet with inmates/students weekly, "before their release, to help them set realistic short-term and long-term goals. Mentors also assist offenders with problem solving, decision-making, job retention, effective communication and other life-management skills" (Wisconsin Jails Announcer, 1996, p. 3).

The successes of former inmates/students who returned to the community and secured good jobs need to be shared with the jail's current inmates, judicial actors, and the community in general. "Positive results need to be exploited in an effort to

promote the probability of future continued successes" (Tewksbury, 1994, p. 411).

Research Methods

Introduction

This chapter includes this descriptive study's purpose and research questions, justification for the research design, a description of the populations surveyed and the selection process. It also includes a description of the instruments designed and used to collect information, the methodological limitations, and the data collection and analysis procedures.

The purpose of this study was to identify potential funding sources that could assist in the support and possible expansion of county jail education programs for adult inmates. Focusing on Wisconsin, this study addressed the following questions:

1. What educational programs are presently offered to adult inmates in county jails?
2. What institutions/agencies cooperate with county jails to provide on-site educational services for adult inmates?
3. How is the education of adults incarcerated in county jails funded?
4. What are county jails and cooperating agencies doing to involve the community in the education of their incarcerated citizens?
5. What funding sources would be most rational for Sheboygan County and/or Lakeshore Technical College to pursue?

Research Design

The descriptive design used for researching funding opportunities for the education of locally incarcerated adults was based on the study's goals formed as questions in the section above. The survey instrument designed by the researcher, with the assistance of expert researchers and professional correctional educators, provided the data needed to report on the most reasonable funding sources for Sheboygan County and/or Lakeshore Technical College could choose to emulate.

Population

The survey was developed and distributed to acquire information from the Basic Education Boards of the sixteen Wisconsin Technical College System districts and the Jail Administrators of the seventy-two Wisconsin counties. The deans and the administrators were chosen to be surveyed rather than the instructors; because no matter how much time and energy instructors devote to advocating for the continuance and potential expansion of on-site jail education projects, the instructors' first responsibility is to teach the inmates. It is the administrators and deans who carry the final responsibility for the programs, and generally they are the individuals who answer to the County Sheriffs and the District Presidents and report to the County Boards and College Boards.

To supplement the information gathered from the survey, the researcher re-

requested the following groups to suggest, in brainstorming fashion, potential funding sources for local adult inmate educational programs: the Wisconsin Technical College System Plan/Application Coordinators, the Circuit Court Judges of Sheboygan County, Lakeshore Technical College's Special Educational Services Advisory Committee, and the Wisconsin Technical College system Instructors of the Incarcerated. The selection of these groups was based on advice from professional educators and the researcher's experience regarding their knowledge of funding sources.

Samples

The scope of the study was limited by cost. The cost of surveying county jails and cooperating educational institutions outside of the State of Wisconsin was too great to justify. Personally distributing surveys at group meetings was more time efficient and more cost effective than mailing, faxing, or calling, and probably increased the number and representativeness of the responses.

Twelve of the sixteen technical college districts in Wisconsin were represented at the Basic Education Deans' meeting on August 14, 1997, by a Basic Education or a General Education Dean, or both. Elevduals or teams representing the districts responded to the survey questions, with one district suggesting it return the survey later. That completed survey was never received by the researcher. Lakeshore Technical College's General/Basic Education Dean, Tom Hilke, confirmed for the researcher that the Deans present at the State-Called Basic Education Deans' meeting were a representative cross section of the entire group.

Of the 72 counties in Wisconsin, 63 registered at least one employee for the Wisconsin Jail Administrators' Conference on November 12 and 13, 1997. Of the 63 registrants, 53 bore the title of Jail Administrator. The other 10 represented their counties in place of their Jail Administrators. This means there was the potential for 63 county jails to participate in the survey; however, no count was available on the number actually present on the second day of the conference (Marty Ordinans, personal communication, November 13, 1997). The surveys were included in the packets received by all conference registrants. Extra surveys were available for the conference participants immediately before and after the researcher was introduced to the entire assembly. Thirty-nine completed surveys were returned to the researcher in person at the conference. One county requested to fax its completed survey later. That survey was received by the researcher on November 20, 1997, bringing the total number of respondents to 40. Marty Ordinans, State of Wisconsin Office of Detention Facilities Director, confirmed for the researcher that the Jail Administrators present at the Wisconsin Jail Administrators' Conference were a representative cross section of the entire group.

Between August 4 and August 18, 1997, the researcher conducted individual telephone interviews/brainstorming sessions with twelve of the sixteen Wisconsin Technical College System Plan/Application Coordinators. The remaining four did not respond to voice mail messages. The researcher facilitated a brainstorming session with all five Circuit Court Judges of Sheboygan County, as well as the

District Attorney and the Public Defender Supervisor, during a Judges' Meeting on October 7, 1997. On November 7, 1997, the researcher facilitated a session with Lakeshore Technical College's Special Educational Services Advisory Committee Members, professionals from area businesses and social agencies; and on December 5, 1997, the researcher met with the Wisconsin Technical College System Instructors of the Incarcerated, as well as other instructors in jail settings, to request their funding ideas.

Instrumentation

The survey instrument developed for this study of potential funding sources for local adult inmate education included eleven questions covering the following topics: educational offerings for county jail adult inmates, current cooperation and funding, plans for local prisoner education programs and potential funding sources, and community knowledge and involvement. The survey took on two forms, one for the WTCS Basic Education Deans and another for the Wisconsin Jail Administrators. All the questions were similar, most were verbatim, except for two questions regarding inmate populations that were asked of the Jail Administrators, but not the Deans.

In June 1997, the researcher arranged to be a guest at the Wisconsin Technical College System Basic Education Deans' meeting in August 1997 and at the Wisconsin Jail Administrators' Conference in November 1997. After some discussion with Sgt. Bonnie Reul of Jefferson County, it was determined that attending the Jail Administrators' Conference would be more efficient and economical than mailing surveys and would allow for more respondents than if the researcher attended the Wisconsin Jail Association Conference in October 1997. Conversations with Norm Kenney of the State of Wisconsin and Linda Rose of Lakeshore Technical College, led the researcher to conduct long distance brainstorming sessions about potential funding sources with the WTCS Plan/Application Coordinators and confirmed that the WTCS Deans would be the best and most efficient group to survey.

Prior to implementation the survey was field tested in personal interviews with Lt. John Scholke, Sheboygan County Sheriff's Department, and with the Dean of General Education, Tom Hilke, Lakeshore Technical College. Content validity was checked and confirmed by comparing the research questions with the survey items. Reliability of the instrument may have been adversely affected by omissions and refusals to participate. Although everyone was provided sufficient time to fill out the form, interest level in doing so may have been affected by the lethargy experienced post-lunch. At the Deans' meeting the surveys were distributed and collected in the mid-afternoon. A late lunch had been served to the participants. Although the administrators received the surveys a day in advance, the researcher was introduced and the survey were collected within the hour immediately after the completion of a luncheon. Both audiences were polite to the researcher. Even the few who verbally expressed their lack of enthusiasm for participating in the survey; nevertheless, did choose to cooperate once they received a little encouragement from the researcher.

To supplement the survey responses the researcher conducted brainstorming sessions focusing on the following request: Please suggest potential funding sources for local adult inmate educational programs. Group brainstorming sessions with the Circuit Court Judges of Sheboygan County, Lakeshore Technical College's Special Educational Services Advisory Committee Members, and the Wisconsin Technical College System Instructors of the Incarcerated were preceded by a very brief introduction of this study's purpose. Individual telephone interviews with WTCS Plan/Application Coordinators included a similar introduction and questions concerning the Coordinator's present involvement in proposal writing for county jail education programs prior to the request for brainstorming potential funding sources.

Data Analysis

The researcher's analyses included: frequency to determine the most and least popular responses, range or variety of responses selected, and comparison/contrast of the different populations' response patterns. A computer summary of the survey checklist results was cross-checked to the raw data. Written responses to the checklist choice of "Other(s)" were compared to the accompanying checklists to see if new ideas were identified. The researcher grouped like items and recorded frequencies of the respondents' written additions, as well as the checked items. The researcher screened all hand written "Other" responses for duplicates. For example, if the checklist included "Substance Abuse" and the respondent did not mark "Substance Abuse" but did mark "Others)" and wrote "AODA," the researcher included the "AODA" response under "Substance Abuse" for the sake of cleaner statistical reporting. Validity of "Other" write-ins was not a problem; so after repositioning those that should have been checked in the lists, all true "Other(s)" were reported under that designation.

The results of the survey checklist and open-ended questions, as well as the brainstorming question, were reported in a narrative or table or combination of the two formats. Responses to open-ended survey questions were analyzed and grouped according to similarity; frequencies were noted. Verbal responses in the brainstorming sessions were grouped according to type for the sake of efficiency and clarity in reading.

Results and Discussion

Introduction

The survey developed for this study of potential funding sources for local adult inmate education included eleven questions covering the following topics: educational offerings for the county's incarcerated adults, current cooperation and funding, plans for local prisoner educational programming and potential funding sources, and community knowledge and involvement. The survey took on two forms, one for the WTCS Basic Education Deans and another for the Wisconsin Jail Administrators (see Appendix A for Survey of Wisconsin Technical College System Districts' Cooperation with Wisconsin's County Jails and Appendix B for Survey of Wisconsin's County Jails). All the questions were similar, most were verbatim, except for two questions regarding the county jail population that were only asked of the jail administrators, and not the deans.

Of the 72 counties in Wisconsin, 63 registered at least one employee for the Wisconsin Jail Administrators' Conference in Wisconsin Dells on November 12 and 13, 1997. Of the 63 registrants, 53 bore the title of Jail Administrator. The other 10 represented their counties in place of their Jail Administrators. This means there was the potential for 63 county jails to participate in the survey; however, no count was available on the number actually present on the second day of the conference (Marty Ordinans, personal communication, November 13, 1997). Forty completed surveys were returned to the researcher. Two of the surveys could not be used because they were duplicates. In each case the survey filled out by the Jail Administrator was used rather than that filled out by a subordinate. The removal of the two surveys left 38 respondents, 53 percent of the 72 County Jails, for inclusion in the data compilation and analysis process.

Twelve of the sixteen technical college districts in Wisconsin were represented at the Basic Education Deans' Meeting in Merrimac, Wisconsin, on August 14, 1997, by a Basic Education or a General Education Dean, or both. Eleven individuals or teams representing the districts participated in the survey. One of the eleven responded only to the "Comments and suggestions" section. Since it offered no data, the remaining ten respondents, 63 percent of the WTCS Districts, were included in the data compilation and analysis process.

To enforce the study's focus on funding, the following groups were asked to brainstorm funding sources for the education of county jail adult inmates: WTCS Plan/Application Coordinators, Sheboygan County Circuit Court Judges, LTC's Special Educational Services Advisory Committee, and Instructors of the Incarcerated.

Based on this study's survey results this chapter includes information on Wisconsin's county jail populations, county jail adult education programs, human and financial resources providing educational services, future programming and fiscal plans for jail education, and the quality and genesis of support for educating adult inmates. This chapter also includes the funding suggestions offered in this study's brainstorming sessions.

Wisconsin's County Jail Populations

Of the 38 Jail Administrators participating in this survey, 36 noted the average daily total adult jail population in their counties. A range of jail sizes was represented, with the majority of the jails holding less than 100 adult inmates. Sheboygan County was categorized with 25 percent of the participating Wisconsin counties in the 100 to 199 group. The results follow in Table 1.

Table 1
Average Daily Total Adult Inmate Population in the Wisconsin County
Jails Represented in the Survey

Total Adult Inmates	Frequency	Percent
less than 49	14	38.9
50 to 99	6	16.7
100 to 199	9	25.0
200 to 499	4	11.1
over 500	3	8.3
Total	36	100.0

Note. At the time of this survey, the average daily total adult inmate population in Sheboygan County was 149.

All 38 Jail Administrators participating in this survey described the types of inmates regularly housed in their county jails. All of the jails housed local inmates. Almost 50 percent housed inmates from other counties, and over 35 percent housed State prisoners. The results follow in Table 2.

Table 2
Classification of Inmates Regularly Housed in the Wisconsin County Jails
Represented in the Survey

Population Composition	Frequency	Percent
Local adult inmates	38	100.0
Adult inmates from other counties	18	47.4
State prisoners	14	36.8
Local juvenile inmates	11	28.9
Federal prisoners	9	23.7
Juvenile inmates from other counties	4	10.5
Other(s)	2	5.3

Note. All 38 participants in this survey checked at least one option for this question. "Other(s)" were specified as Probation Violators (1) and INS Sweeps (1).

Educational Offerings for Wisconsin's County Jail Adult Inmates

Jail Administrators and Technical College Deans were asked to identify the types of educational programs available to adult inmates in their county jails. They could choose responses from a list compiled by the researcher or add others to the list, or both. Each Administrator responded regarding a single jail; whereas, each Dean responded in reference to the jail or jails within his/her district that carried the most programs. The results follow in Table 3.

As reported by the Administrators and the Deans, the program most commonly provided was GED/HSED, Adult Secondary Education. The difference in percentages for GED/High School Equivalency Diploma, Adult Basic Education, Literacy, and English as a Second Language can be attributed to the different respondents' levels of familiarity with educational jargon. The Jail Administrator may be very aware of the educational offerings provided in his/her jail; but since the focus of such programs is often on passing GED tests, the Administrator may not know that ABE, Literacy, and ESL are the foundation for GED/HSED, ninth through twelfth grade educational offerings.

Although only 38 of the 72 counties in Wisconsin participated in this survey, the 38 appear representative of the whole when their responses are compared to the results of the Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance Statistical Analysis Center's 1995 survey of inmate programs. OJA reported 79 percent (53) of the 67 counties responding affirmatively marked the education category labeled GED/Literacy/Adult Basic Education. This study's survey resulted in reports of 66 percent (25/38) of the jails offering GED, 26 percent (10/38) offering Literacy, and 26 percent (10/38) offering ABE.

Table 3
On-site Education Programs for Adult Inmates in the Wisconsin County
Jails Represented in the Survey

Adult Inmate Educational Programs	Jail Administrator		Tech. College Dean	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
GED/High School Equiv. Diploma (HSED), 9th to 12th grade	25	65.8	9	90.0
Substance Abuse	21	55.3	4	40.0
Adult Basic Education (ABE), through 8th grade*	10	26.3	9	90.0
Literacy	10	26.3	9	90.0
Cognitive Intervention	9	23.7	2	20.0
Other(s)	9	23.7	1	10.0
English as a Second Language (ESL)	3	7.9	4	40.0
Vocational Training	2	5.3	11	0.0
College Courses	0	0.0	0	0.0

Note. The Jail Administrators' specifications following "Other(s)" included religious programming (5), school district or tutor service for juveniles adjudicated as adults (4), and community service program (1). One Technical College Dean specified employability skills and mentoring.

The difference in the percentages for Substance Abuse is likely because the Jail Administrators would be responsible for contracting with the agencies that provide that service, and if the jail education programming is not comprehensive as it is in Rock County (Bagley, 1996), for example, the College Dean may not be aware of its existence.

Religious programming was not provided in the checklist of programs; nonetheless, five Jail Administrators included it in the write-in section under "Other(s)." This is supported by the OJA's 1995 report on inmate programs which stated that 64 of the jails in Wisconsin offer religious programming.

Three Jail Administrators and four Technical College Deans offered comments and suggestions under that section of the survey. Concerning programs, one Administrator explained his/her jail recently moved into a new facility and had not been confronted with the need for educational programs, but was confident such needs would surface. Another explained his/her jail has almost no on-site educational programs; however, it does have inmates who are granted Huber privileges for educational programs outside the jail. One College Dean explained that his/her district serves the local State Correctional facility but no on-site Jail instruction is available. Inmates with privileges to leave the Jail attend programs off-site at the local technical college's center.

Current Cooperation with Wisconsin's County Jails for the Education of Adult Inmates

Jail Administrators and Technical College Deans were asked to identify any institutions and agencies that cooperate with the county jails to provide educational programs to adult inmates. The results follow in Table 4.

Table 4
Institutions/Agencies Cooperating with Wisconsin's County Jails to Provide Education Programs for Adult Inmates

Cooperating Institutions/Agencies	Jail Administrator		Tech. College Dean	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Local Technical College District	21	55.3	9	90.0
Church(es)/Synagogue(s)	20	52.6	4	40.0
Local School (K-12) District(s)	16	42.1	2	20.0
Volunteer Organization(s)	16	42.1	7	70.0
Public Library(ies)	8	21.1	3	30.0
Other(s)	5	13.2	1	10.0
Local University (four year)	0	0.0	0	0.0
Local University (two year) Center	0	0.0	0	0.0
Private College(s)	0	0.0	0	0.0

Note. The Jail Administrators' specifications for "Other(s)" were Alcoholics Anonymous (2), Lutheran Social Services (1), Northern Pines (1), Omega School (1), and jail-paid social workers (1). One Technical College Dean specified Rock Valley Corrections.

The most frequent response given by both groups was "Local Technical College District." Almost as frequent a response given by the Administrators was "Church(es)/Synagogue(s)," however, that response was not given as frequently by the Deans. This might be due to a lack of community awareness. Church affiliated organizations do not necessarily advertise their work. The Deans were more likely than the Administrators to choose "Volunteer Organization(s)" as the agency(ies) cooperating to provide jail education programs. It is possible the volunteers work alongside Technical College Instructors, increasing the likelihood of that response among the Deans. None of the Jail Administrators nor any of the Technical College Deans identified the university system or private colleges as cooperating with the jails to provide adult inmate education programs.

Funding Sources for the Education of County Jail Adult Inmates

The extensive 1995 survey on jail inmate programs conducted by the Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance Statistical Analysis Center detailed the providers of GED, literacy, and Adult Basic Education according to the categories of staff, contract, or volunteer; but that information does not expose the funding sources. For instance, the Sheboygan County Sheriff's Department contracts with Lakeshore Technical College to provide Adult Basic Education services but the funding is supplied by a combination of the State, the Local Technical College District, and the County.

In this study's survey, Wisconsin Jail Administrators (38) and Wisconsin Technical College Deans (10) were asked how adult inmate programs in their counties or districts are funded. They could choose responses from a list compiled by the researcher or add others to the list, or both. The results follow in Table 5.

Table 5
Current Funding Sources for the Education of Adult Inmates in the Wisconsin County Jails Represented in the Survey

Funding Sources	Jail Administrator		Tech. College Dean	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Church/Synagogue support	14	36.8	1	10.0
County funds	13	34.2	5	50.0
Local Technical College District	12	31.6	7	70.0
State grant(s)	11	28.9	6	60.0
Commissary proceeds	9	23.7	2	20.0
Other	8	21.1	1	10.0
Private citizen donations	4	10.5	1	10.0
Civic organization support	3	7.9	2	20.0
Federal grant(s)	2	5.3	6	60.0
Corporate donations	1	2.6	0	0.0

Note. The Jail Administrators' specifications for "Other" funding sources currently used were: telephone revenue/rebate (4), local school district (2), Department of Public Instruction (1), Inmate Welfare Fund (1), and inmates (1). One Technical College Dean specified revenues from sale of cigarettes and fees for telephone calls.

The Jail Administrators most frequently responded with "Church/Synagogue support," and almost as frequently with "County funds" and "Local Technical

College District." "Church/Synagogue support" was one of the College Deans' least frequent responses. The Deans most frequently responded with "Local Technical College District," and almost as frequently with "State grant(s)" and "Federal grant(s)."

The difference in the overall responses between the Jail Administrators and the Deans does not decrease the value of the information gathered. The Deans' perspective focusing on district dollars, state and/or federal grant(s), and a match from the county receiving services parallels the experience of Lakeshore and other Wisconsin Technical Colleges. Although the WTCS shares the responsibility of providing education to the incarcerated, some jails cooperate with providers other than their local technical colleges. This broader spectrum of providers likely influenced the varied funding sources identified by the Jail Administrators.

Under the comments and suggestions section of the survey, one of the Jail Administrators and two of the Technical College Deans made comments concerning funding sources. The Administrator expressed a need for the State Division of Corrections to budget for GED/HSED and Anger Control Management for State inmates housed in County Jails. The Administrator's rationale: "If those inmates were at a State facility they would have it, but in Jails, the County has to pick up the tab." The Deans encouraged the researcher to contact the Jail Instructors in their respective districts for more thorough information regarding funding sources. In the brainstorming sessions, some of the WTCS Plan/Application Coordinators also explained that the jail education instructors would have the most complete information on funding sources.

Plans for Local Prisoner Education Programs and Potential Funding Sources

Twelve of the 38 Jail Administrators and 5 of the 10 Technical College Deans responded to: If initiating adult inmate program(s) within the next two years, describe the program(s) and specify funding source(s). The Jail Administrators reported plans for initiating the following programs: Education - GED/HSED (6), AODA treatment (4), Life Skills (3), Anger control/Cognitive intervention (3), and job training/search/placement (2). They reported the funding sources for these new programs would be: State grants (2), volunteers (2), Private Industry Council (1), Inmate Welfare (1), county funds (1), Bayfield County Department of Community Programs (1). The Technical College Deans reported plans for initiating basic education/GED/HSED (2), ITFS (Interactive television) programming (1), computer training (1), and connection to Workforce Development Center Job Network (1). Funding sources stipulated for these new programs were: Adult Education Act grant (3), Technical College District Funds (3), county funds (2), GPR (1), and Challenge grant (1).

Nine of the 38 Jail Administrators and none of the Technical College Deans responded to: If expanding adult inmate program(s) within the next two years, describe the program(s) and specify funding source(s). The Jail Administrators reported the following expansion plans: on-site education/cognitive reading and thinking skills (2), long distance education via ITFS (Interactive Television) and

cable TV access to local VOTEC (2), Employment Education/Transition project/job training and placement (2), Life Skills including parenting (2), AODA issues (1), criminal thinking (1), and vocational training (1). Funding sources identified for the aforementioned were: grants (3), contributions (1), county (1), and Inmate Welfare (1).

One of the 38 Jail Administrators and one of the ten Technical College Deans responded to: If eliminating adult inmate program(s) within the next two years, describe the program(s) and explain rationale for elimination. The Jail Administrator explained that the proposals presently submitted are for an expansion of the current program; if additional funding is not found, the current program will end. The Technical College Dean stated: "If funding (grants) dry up, programs will be eliminated."

Community Knowledge of and Involvement with County Jail Adult Inmate Education

The Jail Administrators and Technical College Deans participating in this survey were asked: On a scale of 1 to 7 (1 representing "not at all" and 7 representing "thoroughly") to what extent is the adult inmate education programming promoted/publicized to the general public? The responses follow in Table 6.

The vast majority of Administrators and Deans said there was little to no promotion or publicity for their local inmate education programs. This could be correlated to why such a small percentage of corporations, civic organizations, and private citizens were identified by Administrators and Deans as current funding sources for the education of adult inmates. (See Table 5).

Table 6

The Extensiveness of Promotion/Publicity for Adult Inmate Education

Programs in Wisconsin's County Jails

	Scale							
	Not at all		to			Thoroughly		
Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Jail Administrator								
Frequency	12	12	4	6	1	1	0	36
Percent	33.3	33.3	11.1	16.7	2.8	2.8	0.0	100.0
Median = 2.0								
Tech. Col. Dean								
Frequency	4	1	3	1	1	0	0	10
Percent	40.0	10.0	30.0	10.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Median = 2.5								
Total								
Frequency	16	13	7	7	2	1	0	46
Percent	34.8	28.3	15.2	15.2	4.3	2.2	0.0	100.0
Median = 2.0								

Note. Percentages are based on those responding to this question.

The Jail Administrators and Technical College Deans who reported that there was promotion/publicity for the adult inmate education programming in their counties or districts identified the parties responsible for that effort. They could choose responses from a list compiled by the researcher or add others to the list, or both. Their responses follow in Table 7.

Table 7
The Promoters/Publicizers of Adult Inmate Education Programs in the

Wisconsin County Jails Represented in the Survey

Jail Administrator Responsible Party		Tech. College Dean		
Percent		Frequency	Percent	Frequency
Jail Administrator	16	42.1	3	30.0
Instructor(s)	11	28.9	4	40.0
Sheriff	9	23.7	2	20.0
Cooperating Agency/Institution				
Administrator	7	18.4	1	10.0
Other(s)	5	13.2	1	10.0
Huber Law Coordinator	5	13.2	0	0.0

Note. The Jail Administrators' specifications for "Other(s)" were: Jail Chaplain (1), Jail Education Committee (1), Prison Citizens Group (1), and Probation Officers (1). A Technical College Dean specified local newspapers.

The Jail Administrators responding to this question most frequently identified themselves as the promoters/publicizers of adult inmate education programs in their counties. Their second most frequent response was "Instructor(s)." Conversely the Technical College Deans most frequently identified "Instructor(s)," and their second most frequent response was "Jail Administrators." This discrepancy between the two groups could be explained by the order of supervisorship. If the Jail Instructor is an employee of the local technical college, as many of them are, the Instructor's supervisor is the Basic/General Education Dean. The Jail Administrator very likely may not be as informed as the Dean about the advocacy efforts of the Instructor. Also, since the Jail Administrators are not required to report to the College Deans, a Dean may not know the extent of an Administrator's advocacy for the jail education programs. For example, if an Administrator reports on the status of inmate education programs during a County Board committee meeting, it is unlikely the College Dean is on the mailing or routing list for the meeting's minutes.

Jail Administrators and Technical College Deans were asked: If there is promotion/publicity, on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 representing "very negative" and 7 representing "very positive"), what has been the public's response to the adult inmate educational program(s)? If there was no promotion or publicity at the survey participant's site, then there was no need to respond. Thus, the total number of responses to this survey question is less than the other questions because it did not apply to all the survey participants. The Jail Administrators and Technical College Deans' ratings of the public's response to adult inmate education programming in their local jails follow in Table 8.

Table 8
The Public's Response to Adult Inmate Education Programs in the
Wisconsin County Jails Represented in the Survey

	Very negative		Scale to		Very positive			
Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Jail Administrator								
Frequency	2	1	4	8	3	2	1	21
Percent	9.5	4.8	19.0	38.1	14.3	9.5	4.8	100.0
Median = 3.9								
Tech. Col. Dean								
Frequency	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	6
Percent	0.0	0.0	33.3	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	100.0
Median = 4.5								
Total								
Frequency	2	1	6	9	4	3	2	27
Percent	7.4	3.7	22.2	33.3	14.8	11.1	7.4	100.0
Median = 4.0								

Note. Percentages are based on those responding to this question.

The Jail Administrators' responses covered the full range of very negative to very positive, and the Technical College Deans' responses ranged from slightly negative to very positive. The two groups combined gave equal numbers of negative, neutral, and positive responses, leaning slightly more toward the positive. The large number of citizens thought to have a very mild opinion to no opinion on the subject of educating adults incarcerated in county jails, could likely be due to the very limited publicity on the topic, as reported by the majority of Administrators and Deans participating in this survey. (See Table 6.) If the public is not informed, the public does not have an opportunity to formulate an opinion. If community awareness is limited, it correlates that community involvement will be limited also.

Jail Administrators and Technical College Deans were asked: On a scale of 1 to 7 (1 representing "not at all" and 7 representing "thoroughly") to what extent is the community involved in the adult inmate education programming (advisory committee, fundraising, etc.)? Their ratings follow in Table 9.

The Jail Administrators' most frequent response regarding the extent of community involvement in jail education programs was "not at all," whereas the Technical College Dean's most frequent response was "somewhat." No one responded with "thoroughly." Seventy-one percent of the two groups' combined stated community involvement was slight to none.

Table 9
The Extensiveness of Community Involvement with Adult Inmate
Education Programs in Wisconsin's County Jails

	Not at all		Scale to		Thoroughly			
Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Jail Administrator								
Frequency	15	5	4	3	3	1	0	31
Percent	48.4	16.1	12.9	9.7	9.7	3.2	0.0	100.0
Median = 1.6								
Tech. Col. Dean								
Frequency	3	2	0	4	1	0	0	10
Percent	30.0	20.0	0.0	40.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Median = 3.0								
Total								
Frequency	18	7	4	7	4	1	0	41
Percent	43.9	17.1	9.8	17.1	9.8	2.4	0.0	100.0
Median = 1.9								

Note. Percentages are based on those responding to this question.

In response to an open-ended follow-up question regarding community involvement and cooperation, ten of the Jail Administrators shared that the following were responsible for initiating the community and jail cooperative relationship: Sheriff's Department/County Jail Administration/Staff (8); Volunteers from groups such as Literacy Council, Friends of Library, and Offender Services (4); Jail Chaplain/Ministry personnel (3); GED Educator (1); and local church (1). As identified by the Administrators, the initiators' efforts resulted in wider community awareness, expansion and continuation of services, and increased involvement of people from the community and the criminal justice system in the jail education programs. More tangible results were also identified: funding for a half-time social worker, a satellite HSED program offered by the local technical college, increased availability of AODA counseling, and private and corporate donations.

Seven of the Technical College Deans responded to the follow-up question regarding community involvement and cooperation. They shared that the following were responsible for initiating the community and jail cooperative relation-

ship: instructor/program coordinator (2), local technical college (2), local inmate education support group (1), and jail personnel (1). The Deans stated that the impact of the community cooperation was positive. One explained that the educational needs of inmates were being met, where previously they had very rarely been met. Another specified the support provided from the community through donations, counseling, and tutoring.

Jail Administrators were more likely to identify jail personnel as the initiators of a cooperative relationship between the community and the jail. The Administrators were somewhat more likely than the Deans to list community members and groups. In contrast, four of the six initiators specified by the Deans were the Deans' colleagues and staff. Both the Administrators and the College Deans indicated that cooperation increased educational services for inmates, and all of their comments indicated positive results.

Funding Source Suggestions for Local Adult Inmate Educational Programming

To supplement the survey responses the researcher conducted brainstorming sessions focusing on the following request: Please suggest potential funding sources for local adult inmate educational programs.

Between August 4 and August 18, 1997, the researcher conducted individual telephone interviews/brainstorming sessions with twelve of the sixteen Wisconsin Technical College System Plan/Application Coordinators (Grant Writers). Nine of the twelve participating Coordinators reported they were involved in proposal or grant request writing for educational programs offered in the county jails of their districts. When asked how these programs are currently funded, nine said state/federal funding, with six of the nine specifically mentioning the AEA grant and three of the nine reporting that the county matched the grant. The only other response was VEA/Perkins.

The WTCS Plan/Application Coordinators suggested the following potential funding sources for local adult inmate educational programming: local, state, and federal grants/funding (3); foundations (3) such as the Foundation for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE); corporate donations (1); the Private Industry Council (1); and revenue generating activities, such as inmate work projects for the benefit of the community (1).

Focusing on the topic of potential funding sources for local adult inmate educational programs, the researcher facilitated brainstorming sessions with the following groups. All five Circuit Court Judges of Sheboygan County, as well as the District Attorney and the Public Defender Supervisor, participated in a session on October 7, 1997. Lakeshore Technical College's Special Educational Services Advisory Committee Members, professionals from area businesses and social agencies, did so on November 7, 1997. Instructors representing eighteen county jails, ten WTCS districts, and three public school districts, as well as representatives from Wisconsin's Department of Corrections, Center on Education and Work, Office of Justice Assistance, and Milwaukee County's House of Correction and Benedict Center brainstormed funding sources on December 5, 1997.

When asked for funding source ideas, Sheboygan County Judges suggested community groups and church groups who are interested in "the system" such as the First Congregational Church, Sheboygan - Christian Service Board and the First United Lutheran Church, Sheboygan - Social Ministry Committee. They also suggested corporate donations, LTC's Friends or Alumni organization, and the Sheboygan County Crime Prevention Fund.

Lakeshore Technical College's Special Educational Services Advisory Committee Members suggested: an additional fine attached to present fine (2) for crimes such as drunk driving and domestic violence, former students/successful program participants (1), American Association of University Women (AAUW) (1), employers (1), and local school district (1).

Instructors of the Incarcerated suggested: civic, business, and professional organizations such as the Kiwanis, the American Association of University Women (AAUW), and the local Deputies' Association (6); county revenues generated from vending machines, jail telephones, the commissary, Sheriff's auctions of recovered non-returnable items, and additional court-ordered fines (5); foundations such as the WTCS Foundation, the LTC Foundation, the West Foundation, the Beloit Foundation, and the Wisconsin Advanced Telecommunications Foundation (5); government grants such as the U. S. Department of Education - Life Skills grant and those available through the Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance (5); individuals such as the inmates themselves, their families, and the victims and their families (3); ministerial associations (2); area school and technical college district support (2); the Campaign for Human Development (1); college bookstore (1); and the United States Postal Service (1).

Researching strategies for obtaining funding was not a goal of this study; however, the suggestions in the brainstorming sessions tended to include strategies along with the sources. For example, the Instructors' group suggested forming a relationship with the local literacy group so that they could represent the jail education program at civic and church group meetings and do fundraising in the form of, for instance, requesting book donations. They also suggested seeking the advice of the jail education advisory committee. (Please see Appendix C for the list of funding strategy ideas gathered during the aforementioned brainstorming sessions.)

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter includes a summary of this descriptive study, conclusions based upon its results, recommendations for further study, and recommendations for action.

Summary

The on-going uncertainty of funding for the education of incarcerated adults in the Sheboygan County Jail of Wisconsin was the impetus for this study. Because very little research has been aimed at identifying potential funding sources for local adult inmate education programs, this study was conducted to determine the plausibility of obtaining additional or alternative funding for the purpose of expanding or insuring the continuance of the educational services presently offered to Sheboygan's adult inmates by Lakeshore Technical College.

The descriptive design used for researching funding opportunities was based on the study's goals to determine what educational programs were offered to adult inmates in Wisconsin's county jails, what institutions/agencies were cooperating to provide such services, how the educational services were funded, what was being done to involve local communities in the education of county jail adult inmates, and what funding sources Sheboygan County and/or Lakeshore Technical College might consider pursuing. Surveys designed for the Wisconsin Technical College System Basic Education Deans and the Wisconsin Jail Administrators provided information about Wisconsin county jail populations, the educational needs of adult inmates, and how the counties' administration and/or technical college districts resolved or are resolving funding issues. Additional suggestions for potential funding sources were provided by the Wisconsin Technical College system Plan/Application Coordinators, the Circuit Court Judges of Sheboygan County, Lakeshore Technical College's Special Educational Services Advisory Committee, and the Wisconsin Technical College system Instructors of the Incarcerated.

Based on this study's research conducted between June and November 1977 the type of educational programming most commonly provided to Wisconsin's county jail adult inmates is GED/High School Equivalency Diploma/Adult Secondary Education. Most frequently the local Wisconsin Technical College System districts are the agencies that cooperate with the county jails to provide education programs for adult inmates.

A variety of sources are used to fund the programs. The most common are local technical college district dollars, county funds, state/federal grants, and church/synagogue donations. The potential sources identified for funding future programs mirror those noted above.

There is little to no promotion or publicity for local inmate education programs. The responsibility for any effort that does exist is most likely carried by the Jail Administrators and/or the Instructors. Most citizens are thought to have a very mild opinion to no opinion on the subject of educating adults incarcerated in county jails, and there is very little community involvement in the programs. Sheriff's Department/County Jail Administration and Technical College Instructional Staff/Administration are most likely to initiate cooperation between the community and the jail. Such cooperation has garnered positive results including increased educational services for inmates.

Although the study's focus was on funding for adult education in Sheboygan County, the results of the study are generalizable to some degree. Other county

jails and educational institutions might make use of and benefit from the data.

Conclusions

According to the research conducted for this study, education programs for adult inmates in Wisconsin's county jails range from a single citizen volunteering to give a couple of hours per week in the fight against illiteracy to a large, full-time comprehensive program such as is offered in Rock County. The programming most commonly offered to inmates is GED/HSED/Adult Secondary Education with a foundation in Adult Basic Education/Literacy/English as a Second Language. The next most frequently offered program types are Substance Abuse and Cognitive Intervention respectively.

Most often the local Wisconsin Technical College System districts are the agencies that cooperate with the county jails to provide education programs for adult inmates, but it is not unusual for churches/synagogues and volunteer organizations to provide educational services instead of or in addition to that offered by the technical college districts.

The most common sources for funding jail education are local technical college district dollars, county funds, state/federal grants, and church/synagogue donations. Sources virtually untapped include: corporate donations, civic organization support, and private citizen donations.

Most Wisconsin counties/technical college districts do little to promote community awareness of and involvement in local inmate education programs. When effort is put forth, usually by Jail Administrators or Instructors, the results are positive. Jail education advisory committees/advocacy groups may provide formal means of communication and increase community involvement.

Funding for adult inmate education programs is available from a variety of sources, limited only by the imagination; and there are many viable strategies for obtaining those funds. Sheboygan County and Lakeshore Technical College can choose, for example, to hold annual brat fry fund-raisers for "pencil" money or they can more ambitiously and more effectively advocate for legislative changes to support substantial, long-term funding of comprehensive adult education programs for county inmates.

Recommendations for Further Study

This researcher recommends studies be conducted on the following topics.

- The process for proposing legislative changes to insure permanent adequate funding of county jail adult education programs.
- The potential for the State employing a full-time Plan/Application Coordinator whose primary responsibility would be researching funding sources and writing grant proposals on behalf of a consortium of WTCS Districts/County Jails that provide Adult Education for the Incarcerated.
- The eligibility requirements for grants offered by company-sponsored and community foundations in east central Wisconsin.

Recommendations for Action

This researcher recommends the following actions be taken to help insure the continuance of funding for the Sheboygan County Jail Adult Education Project and to increase the potential for additional funding should expansion of the Project be considered.

- Maximize the human and financial resources already supporting the program, starting with those that have the greatest potential for return on investment.
- Strengthen political networks. Start by meeting with those suggested by the LTC Special Educational Services Advisory Committee: Wisconsin State Senator Calvin Potter and Wisconsin State Senator Mary Panzer.
- Keep the judges, attorneys, probation/parole agents, and social workers aware of the jail education project's successes and problems, for their influence could be significant if funding is ever in jeopardy.
- Continue to educate the public, especially employers and civic/church organizations, about the Adult Education for the Incarcerated project facilitated by Lakeshore Technical College in the Sheboygan County Jail.
- Encourage community involvement: For example, invite guest speakers to give presentations to the inmates in the jail classroom on topics such as financial management and job retention.
- Form alliances with organizations already set up to assist humanitarian projects. Start with the strongest leads suggested in this study's brainstorming sessions: American Association of University Women (AAUW), area churches, and religious programs for prisoners and their families.

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Biographical Sketch

Sharon Abel, an instructor for Lakeshore Technical College (Cleveland, Wisconsin), has been responsible for the Adult Basic Education for the Incarcerated Project in Sheboygan County since 1991. When asked why she chose to research potential funding sources, Sharon Abel explains, "I knew that I would be able to immediately apply the results of my research to my work. Whether one defines success with follow-up study statistics, anecdotal accounts, or costs versus savings; I am prepared to present an argument in favor of funding on-site jail education."

Sharon Abel earned a Master of Science Degree in Vocational Education from the University of Wisconsin-Stout (Menomonie, Wisconsin) in 1998. She is a graduate of Northern Michigan University (Marquette, Michigan) and Fox Valley Technical College (Appleton, Wisconsin). She resides with her husband and children in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. Ms. Abel can be reached at LTC, 1290 North Avenue, Cleveland, WI 53015 or (920) 458-4183, extension 747.

The Need for Cognitive Skills Training in Correctional Vocational Education Programming

**Kim Kachelmyer, Ph.D.
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Introduction

Roger Knudson, Education Director from the Minnesota Department of Corrections stated that the number of individuals confined to correctional institutions continues to grow at an unprecedented rate. During the past decade, the number of inmates doubled in part because of the following factors:

- There was more crime due to the large increase in the number of 18 to 25 year olds in the population, the most crime-prone ages.
- A tougher stance on punishment meant that more criminals were sentenced to prison.
- Because younger criminals commit more violent crimes, the sentences tended to be for longer terms.
- More severe sentences were handed out for certain types of offenders (i.e., violent, repeat, and drug) (Knudson, 1994).

Jon Harper, Educator Director for Hennepin County Adult Corrections (1994) mentioned that education is one of several services offered by most corrections institutions; in fact, about 90 percent of them have educational programs. However, because access to these programs is frequently limited, only about 5 percent of inmates are enrolled in some type of vocational education program despite the fact that as many as 50 percent could probably benefit from them (Harper, 1994).

Despite its limited availability, vocational education has a long tradition in correctional facilities and is considered by many to have great potential for producing positive results. However, some problems associated with providing vocational education in corrections include lack of funding and difficult access to funding, inadequate and outmoded equipment and materials, and inadequate space (Knudson, 1994). There have been studies that have documented positive relationships between inmates' participation in vocational education and subsequent employment upon release. According to Halasz (1988), "it seems appropriate to continue to study the relationship among education, employment, and recidivism based on the assumption that education leads to employment and employ-

ment can lead to successful reintegration into society" (p.71).

Vocational education is often viewed as an intervention as it provides inmates with occupational skills that will hopefully deter their return to prison. Relevant, effective, and efficient vocational education programs are essential to provide inmates with these opportunities (Taylor, 1982).

In his address to the American Bar Association in February 1981 Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger linked the lack of education and marketable skills to criminal behavior. He urged that inmates be given the opportunity to change through education and vocational training. Burger (1981) stated that:

We must accept the reality that to confine offenders behind walls without trying to change them is an expensive folly with short term benefits—a winning of battles while losing the war (Schollsman and Spillane, 1992, p.5).

Burger proposed that all vocational and educational programs be made mandatory, with credit against sentence for educational progress. He explained that it would be, "literally a program to learn the way out of prison," so that no prisoner leaves without being able to read, write, do basic arithmetic and demonstrate a marketable skill. This program is similar to the "pay for knowledge" program used in some businesses. According to Norm Carlson, from the Federal Bureau of Prisons, "Incarceration has dramatically increased during the last decade." (Carlson, November, 1993) The U.S. Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics (1994, p.3-4) reported that as of March, 1994, slightly over one million are now incarcerated in American prisons. Most inmates (95 percent) will eventually be released. Approximately 150,000 inmates are released each year. In the federal prisons about half of the inmates have access to some type of education.

In terms of cost to society in dollars alone, it makes sense to provide adequate vocational training to give former inmates a chance to do legitimate work. A 1994 Government Accounting Office report pointed out that correctional institutions can do more to improve the employability of former inmates. In this society, regular employment is the accepted way of assuming responsibility for oneself (Rominger, 1994).

Employment not only affects the former inmate's ability to be self supporting without recourse to crime but also influences use of leisure time, association with friends, self-concept, and expectations for the future. Carlson (1993) reported that at the August 1981 National Advisory Council for Vocational Education hearings, former inmates testified that if they had not had vocational education classes while in prison and been given job opportunities when released they would "very likely have returned to prison."

Correctional institutions have always faced the problem of what to do with inmates. It is generally agreed that corrections should not only maintain custody, but also achieve some degree of rehabilitation (Rominger, Christenson & Mercer, 1993).

Rominger, Christenson & Mercer (1993) describe vocational education in a correctional institution as providing instruction in a setting constantly bombarded with security needs, maintenance needs, treatment modes, and competing activi-

ties. These activities limit the time available for vocational education instruction. Furthermore, educators and educational administrators are typically isolated from other parts of the correctional institution. Often there are misunderstandings with custodial and other staff members who may have difficulty understanding the educators' need to build trusting relationships with inmates in order to enhance their learning and skill development. Currently there are variations among the states in mandating and supporting vocational education programs in correctional institutions.

Since the 1960s the emphasis in correctional education has been on vocational training. Resources for vocational education programs are frequently minimal, often depending upon contributions from local industries and the dedication of staff to maintain operation. Many adult correctional institutions are old, were designed as industrial prisons, and lack proper space and equipment for vocational education programs (Halasz & Behm, 1982).

Research with Canadian prison populations has demonstrated a link between cognitive skills programming and an improvement in the effectiveness of vocational education in prison (Ross, Fabiano, Ross, 1991).

These studies suggest that appropriate application of contemporary behavioral and cognitive treatments can change an offender's behavior, even when judged by the bottom-line criterion of recidivism rates (Andrews, D.A., & Wormith, J.S.; Gendreau & Ross, 1987).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to explore the role of cognitive skills training as a precursor to vocational education programming in Minnesota prisons. This research fills a gap in the cognitive skills training literature by examining cognitive skills training in the context of vocational education in corrections. The fact that the two fields share a common interest in topics such as selection of appropriate offenders for participation in intensive rehabilitative programming-identification of high risk offenders indicates a basis for a possible improvement. Studying the possible relationship between cognitive skills training on vocational education in corrections could stimulate the development of both of these emerging fields. The identification of capabilities, problems, and potential interventions related to correctional education will support the development of new conceptual frameworks and educational theories such as those developed for the specialized area of vocational education at penal institutions. An improved understanding of the cognitive skills training may help prison educators and administrators more effectively meet the needs of the inmates.

Statement of the Problem

Corrections professionals and often legislators, have traveled down the reform road of vocational education too often to be persuaded by superficial invocations of the work ethos as a remedy for recidivism. This is not to argue against innovative educational programming in correctional institutions, but rather to insist that the development of persuasive, empirically grounded justification for investment

in vocational education ought to be considered necessary before it is decided, as a matter of policy, to choose this educational route rather than some other. Unless it can be shown that vocational programming is superior to other educational or therapeutic interventions with prisoners, there seems no compelling reason to assure it to be so (Schlossman & Spillane, 1992).

A necessary prerequisite to specific occupational skills training is offenders adopting coping skills or an attitude which recognizes that problem situations are part of everyday existence and that it is possible to cope effectively with most of these situations. They need to learn to inhibit the tendency either to do nothing or to respond on their first impulse.

This research focuses on the following questions: 1) What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' problem solving behavior? 2) What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' social skills? 3) What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' negotiation skills? 4) What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' management of emotions? 5) What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' creative thinking as it affects behavior? 6) What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' moral values? 7) What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' critical reasoning behavior?

Significance of the Study

Literature reveals that adults and juveniles in correctional institutions are characterized by low educational attainment, school failure, learning problems, and educational resistance. They are among the highest risk individuals in our society for failure at work, learning, and life (National Institutes of Corrections/National Academy of Corrections interview, June 13, 1994). In response to this proven need for intensive educational remediation, the criminal justice systems of this country have answered with sometimes only half-hearted support for the prospect of education as insurance against further criminal activity (National Institutes of Corrections/National Academy of Corrections interview, June 13, 1994).

The hypothesis is that the benefits of correctional education are enhanced by a comprehensive and holistic design composed of assessment that reports the inmates' needs in achieving functional competency in communication and mathematics, an academic curriculum that will address those needs, vocational special education, and intensive transitional services before and after release.

Corrections education is adversely affected by low levels of funding; disregard for education needs during decisions on inmate disposition; facilities not designed for education services; lack of research, lack of an overall mission and a strategic plan for corrections; and a lack of support from prison administrators on the inside and public educators on the outside. Despite these handicaps, correctional education is often expected to reduce recidivism and guarantee the future job success of individuals after only spare and intermittent contact with inmates while they are incarcerated (Rominger, Christenson & Mercer, 1993).

Research Questions

This research is based on the premise that cognitive skills training should serve as a precursor to vocational education programs in prisons to enhance the inmates' acquisition of coping skills common to most incarcerated individuals; to consider all information; to define the situation in detail and in concrete terms; to identify relevant concepts; to arrange facts into an orderly form; to recognize irrelevant facts; and to recognize gaps in the information available to him. The prisoner must learn verbal and non-verbal communications skills so that the person can obtain as much information as possible about a problem, recognize that problems are about to occur and express views clearly. Vocational education is of little value to the prisoner if the individual is unable to cope with the normal stressors of everyday life.

The proposed study was designed to focus on the impact of the Canadian Cognitive Skills program, as perceived by inmates, teachers, and guards. It was expected that this would lead to theory based on the experience of these prisoners and prison officials.

The following research questions were developed to guide the study:

1. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' problem solving behavior?
2. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' social skills?
3. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' negotiation skills?
4. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' management of emotions?
5. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' creative thinking as it affects behavior?
6. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' moral values?
7. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' critical reasoning behavior?

Definitions

There are several terms used in this research, such as cognitive skills training program and vocational education, that can be defined in various ways, depending on the context and discipline. Though, in many cases, there is a lack of consensus about what constitutes vocational education programming in prisons or what is cognitive skills training as it relates to vocational education in penal institutions, there is basic agreement on the dimensions of these concepts. The controversy over definitions often develops from the specific boundaries or importance assigned various elements of the definition. The following terms have been identified and an attempt has been made to define them in the context of their application for this study. A more complete discussion of vocational education in prisons and cognitive skills training will be included in the review of the literature.

Coping Skills Training

Coping skills training includes such treatment components as relaxation training, stress-management techniques, restructuring maladaptive cognitions, problem-solving and assertive communication techniques, and engaging in pleasant activities. The skills aid inmates in dealing more effectively with stressful thoughts, behaviors, and emotions and regain a sense of control and mastery over their lives (Rathus & Nevid, 1991, p. 174).

Sociopath

The first use of this term sociopath as such, was offered by Partridge, as described by Maughs in 1941, who stressed the impulsiveness and infantilism of the sociopath. Cleckley in his "Mask of Sanity" in the early 1950s endowed the sociopath with sixteen characteristics. He begins his list with attributes which are entirely normal and which simply exclude certain kinds of pathology. He described the sociopath as having superficial charm and good intelligence-which makes it clear that his behavior cannot be explained on the basis of mental deficiency. The sociopath lacks delusions and other signs of irrational thinking, thus psychotic disorders are excluded. He is unreliable, untruthful, insincere and antisocial. Such indications as to the etiology of this behavior, as he gives us, are his egocentricity and lack of love, his lack of remorse and shame. The sociopathic personality is not so much a disorder, as it is a defect, a failure of development. In the Fourth Edition of the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, the term was reserved for individuals who have a history of continuous and chronic antisocial behavior in which the rights of others are violated, persistence into adult life of a pattern of antisocial behavior that began before the age of 15, and failure to sustain good job performance over a period of several years. The antisocial personality is not due to severe mental retardation, schizophrenia or manic episodes of bipolar illness (Salama, 1988).

Since the majority of the subjects in this dissertation were sociopathic (eight were indicated by signed statements of reviewing psychologists in the inmates' files; two were judged to exhibit sociopathic behavior by the reviewing psychologists) it is important that we define the term sociopath. As used in this study, sociopath means psychopath, who is characterized by impulsivity and complete lack of shame and guilt over his immoral, criminal behavior. He is dishonest and prides himself on his ability to lie, dupe, and deceive without being caught. He is so superficially charming that, afterward, the victims may find it difficult to believe that such cruelty and dishonesty could be carried out by him. Psychopaths become violent when they do not get their way, but shrug off the behavior as justified (Adahan, 1991). A more complete discussion of sociopathic behavior will be included in Chapters Four and Five of this dissertation.

Cognition

As Kohlberg (1969) explained, "Cognition (as most clearly reflected in thinking) means putting things together or relating events, and this relating is an active connecting process" (p. 349).

This term refers to basic patterns or "structures" of mature or immature thought in cognitive-developmental theory and to veridical or distorted attitudes or beliefs in social information processing theory (Goldstein & Huff, 1993).

Public Risk Monitoring

A term used by the Minnesota Department of Corrections to describe the category that a released inmate is placed in if he has committed a sex offense before imprisonment. After release, the ex-prisoner's work and home life is closely monitored in order to prevent further sex offending.

Cognitive-developmental interventions

These types of interventions attempt to remediate developmental delays in social cognition or moral judgment. Cognition that motivates moral behavior, then, is both mature and veridical (Goldstein & Huff, 1993).

Critical Incident

As used in this study, critical incident means the technique developed by John Flanagan. This method, as usually applied, involves studying the performance of one group of individuals (such as inmates) by asking another group of individuals (such as teachers/correctional officers) to describe "critical incidents" that relate to the performance of the first group. In vocational studies, the informants are usually supervisors, but the method can be used whenever a group can be identified that has information about the performance of another group (Flanagan, 1954).

Content Analysis

As used in this study, content analysis means a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative approach of the manifest content of communication (Berelson, 1952). The raw material for the research worker using the content-analysis technique may be any form of communication, usually written materials, but other forms of communication such as music, pictures, and gestures should be excluded. Content analysis is often used in conjunction with observational studies. The researcher tape records verbal discussion, for example, makes a typical transcript from the audiotape, and then analyzes the content of the transcript in order to measure variables that have been formulated by the researcher (Borg and Gall, 1989).

Case Study

As used in this study, case study means multiple individual cases (e.g., inmates). During the last few decades, there has been a substantial growth in studies of complex settings, such as schools and special programs (Herriott &

Firestone, 1983; Louis, 1982; Schofield, 1990). One aim of studying multiple cases is to increase generalizability, reassuring yourself that the events and processes in one well-described setting are not wholly idiosyncratic. At a deeper level, the aim is to see processes and outcomes across many cases, to understand how they are qualified by local conditions, and thus to develop more sophisticated descriptions and more powerful explanations (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Delimitations

The following delimitations were placed on the study:

First, the study is limited to one prison (Minnesota Correctional Facility-Lino Lakes) in the Minnesota State Correctional system.

Second, the sample consists of eight sociopathic male inmates and two male inmates who exhibited sociopathic behavior who have completed the cognitive skills training program.

Limitations

The information collected for this study is partly based on the inmates', teachers', and guards' assessments of the prison's cognitive skills training program within the vocational education program at the facility.

Review of the Literature

This chapter examines the issue of vocational education as a part of corrections in Minnesota. This review of the literature will (a) define the fields of vocational education and correctional education in Minnesota, (b) explore the mission of correctional education, (c) identify standards for studying vocational correctional education, and (d) identify the components of the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program from the Correctional Service of Canada (cognitive skills training program).

This chapter concludes with a framework that integrates vocational education with correctional education in Minnesota. The framework summarizes concepts from vocational education and corrections education literature. This framework supports the contention that dim realities exist in the field of vocational education in corrections in Minnesota. However, with the introduction of the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program from the Correctional Service of Canada, there does exist hope for the offender before entering vocational training.

The Condition of Correctional Education in Minnesota

The strengths of vocational programs in the federal and state prisons were described by 57 vocational instructors working in correctional settings and their 18 educational supervisors during the last two weeks of February 1992 as excellence in instruction or course design, students' high interest in the specific vocational course, and the hands-on aspect of vocational training. Major weaknesses of their vocational programs were listed as the lack of time to properly train their students or to allow them to finish courses before the clients are released from the correctional system or transferred to another institution and a lack of neces-

sary equipment, supplies, or curriculum materials (Rominger, Christenson, Mercer, 1993).

The instructors and supervisors indicated that they were teaching in facilities not designed for educational or vocational instruction and that their facilities could be improved by more laboratory space and better designed shops or dedicated school buildings. Although both groups agreed that the yearly budget for consumable supplies was adequate, many stated that the yearly budget for equipment was inadequate (Rominger, Christenson, Mercer, 1993).

The results indicated that almost all correctional instructors are teaching classes which contain students with Emotional and Behavior Disorders and Specific Learning Disabilities; these same students are predominantly academically and economically disadvantaged. They also exhibit a high incidence of mental impairments and limited English proficiency (Rominger, Christenson, Mercer, 1993).

Suggestions for the improvement of correctional education include increased funding for all correctional education programs, post-release follow-up with students to determine their success rate at gaining and keeping jobs after release, the need to allow students the time and means to complete training programs before release, transitional support from prison to post-release work and living, and better equipment and/or facilities.

Background of Correctional Education

Throughout history, punishment of criminals has been justified by any combination of four principles-retribution, incapacitation, deterrence, and rehabilitation (Mnookin and Weisberg 1989, 974). Correctional education falls squarely under the rubric of rehabilitation. Among the discrete administrative divisions of the modern penal system-security, treatment, and prison industries-education and vocational training are considered to be a type of treatment (Day 1979, 3).

Evolution of Correctional Education

The modern era of correctional education can be traced to the opening of the Elmira (New York) Reformatory for adult males in 1876 under the direction of Zebulon Brockway (Rowh, 1985, 4). Brockway was a visionary of the reformatory movement that owed much to 100 years of evolution, beginning with the work of the first correctional educator, William Rogers, in 1773 at the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia. Elmira was the product of the combined contributions of prison critics and reformers—Alexis de Tocqueville; Mary Carpenter; Alexander Maconochie; Sir Walter Crofton; Moses, Amos, and Louis Pilsbury; and E.C. Wines-writing and working in Europe, England, Ireland, Australia, and the United States (Gehring 1984, *passim*). Gehring remarked, "Brockway sought to permeate the entire Elmira setting with a school-like atmosphere, thereby diminishing hostility between convicts and officers so the staff could function more like teachers" (1984, 51). Along with the implementation of a new philosophy of prison management, over 36 training programs in trades were offered to the inmate population (Allen and Simonsen in Rowh, 1984, 3).

In the United States, improvement in the education of prisoners is based on the

principles developed in the writings and work of such people as Charles Mott Osborne, Austin McCormick, Daniel Glaser, Tom Murton, Dr. Thomas Gaddis, the Reverend John Erwin, Frank Dell'Apa, and Osa Coffey. This list of a few primary contributors to the evolution of correctional education is based on the *Correctional Education Chronology*, an unpublished history of the field that Dr. Thom Gehring has been compiling since 1984.

The Contribution of Minnesotans to Correctional Education

Among the many Minnesotans who have contributed to the improvement of correctional education throughout the state and nation, Miriam Carey and Perrie Jones, co-founders of Minnesota's correctional education library system (Gehring, 1984, 83, 90, 109, 125); Al Maresh, first education coordinator for the Minnesota Department of Corrections; and Norm Carlson, former director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, head the list. Al Maresh, who died in 1984, and Norm Carlson have international reputations as innovators and outspoken visionaries of improvements in corrections and as supporters of correctional education.

The Mission of Correctional Education

The National Advisory Council on Vocational Education (1981, 1) defined the mission of vocational correctional education as:

instructions offered through the systems (i.e., jails, state and federal prisons) to enable offenders to be employment-ready upon their return to free society. It involves the development of basic skills, specific occupational training, and an array of "job readiness" attitudes, and talents, including the development of positive motivation, good work habits, and survival skills (The National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, 1981, p.1).

This is the most widely published definition in the literature. Osa Coffey offered an alternative:

The goal of correctional education, as I see it, is to bring inmates up to, beyond, or as close to their potential as possible-up to a level we may call 'functional competency.' By that, I mean the ability of people to perform socially, economically, and personally in their culture and location at a reasonable level of effectiveness. (Coffey and Carter, 1986, 4).

Administration of Correctional Education

Correctional education has operated under one of three types of administrative models: (a) the institutional model, (b) the systemwide bureau, and, (c) the correctional school district (Gehring 1990, 174). In the institution-based model, the school is simply part of the prison and the education staff are, first and foremost, prison staff. This means that educators answer directly and only to the institution administrator. In the bureau model, correctional education is a recognized part of the department of corrections or the bureau in charge of adult or juvenile corrections. The central office of the department of corrections employs staff that su-

pervise education across the system. As a result, the chain of command for instructors (through their principal to the department of corrections educational supervisor) is parallel to the chain of command of the prison security staff (through the institution superintendent to the state superintendent of prisons). The correctional school district delivers education as a service to the prisons or training schools but, in all respects, is an agency within the government separate from the department of corrections. It is often an education agency or school district operated by the state department of public education (Rominger, Christenson, Mercer, 1993).

Adult Settings for Correctional Education

Most inmates lack the basic skills and attitudes necessary for them to find and keep jobs and live independently in society without resorting to illegal shortcuts to gratify their needs and desires. These individuals have experienced abject failure in school, in the work place, and in society. Consequently, the inmates have developed a large repertoire of negative attitudes and remarks on education and "straight" work, all reinforced daily by their fellow prisoners. In spite of this, many seem genuinely pleased to attend the vocational program each day in the prison, but few ever complete the program because they simply disappear (Rominger, Christenson, Mercer, 1993).

The vocational teachers know from experience that the inmates' disappearances were caused by transfers to other prisons—ones without, for example, welding programs such as what they were enrolled in with them—to make space for a new inmate, or transfers to a pre-release institution, or parole, or inmates taking a job in the prison kitchen. The instructors have no say over these circumstances and are rarely asked for input. They would genuinely like to know how some of the few students who did complete their programs are doing, but there is a Department of Corrections policy that prohibits personal contact between prison employees and ex-convicts. Once or twice a year instructors may get a letter or a phone call at work from former students telling them how well they are doing. These instructors want to believe that what they do for a living makes a difference in the lives of their students but they have so little data to support that belief. Such is the lot of vocational educators in adult prisons (Rominger, Christenson, Mercer, 1993).

Adult Students in Correctional Education

Osa Coffey described the general education needs of the nation's adult inmates in the following terms:

The typical male or female inmate is poor, unskilled, undereducated, and unemployed or underemployed. Only 40 percent (as compared to 85 percent of the U.S. population as a whole) have completed high school. Most function on the fifth-grade level in reading and spelling and somewhat lower in math. Forty percent were reported unemployed at the time of arrest; an additional 12 percent had only parttime employment. The average inmate, in terms of annual income, operated at poverty

level before being jailed. Estimates indicate that about 25 percent of the prison population suffers from some form of learning disability or other handicapping condition. One-third has a record of severe alcohol abuse, and one-third has a record of drug abuse. (Coffey and Carter, 1986, 3).

The Ohio Council on Vocational Education discovered that, among its adult prison population: 70 percent are high school dropouts, 65 percent are unemployed at the time of committing the crime, and 65 have engaged in some form of substance abuse. Half of these people demonstrate a previously diagnosed learning or behavioral disorder; six percent, pronounced mental retardation. Only one percent are vocational completers prior to their conviction. (1990,12).

The Wisconsin Legislative Council (1990, 10) reported that male inmates in Wisconsin with tested reading levels of sixth grade or less represented 37 percent of the male prison population. Females with the same low reading levels comprised 35 percent of the female prison population. Halasz and Behm (1982, 4) noted that the task of teaching vocational subjects in a prison setting is greatly hampered by "the extreme variability among the inmate populations with respect to formal education, work experience, specific skills, motivation, varying lengths of sentence, and other factors unique to each institution."

Vocational Programs for Adult Inmates

There are major differences between vocational programs in correctional institutions and public education. They differ in the responsibilities of education personnel; adequacy of facilities, equipment, and funding; enrollment; program length; and faculty/student roles (Ohio Council on Vocational Education 1990, 13). The Wisconsin Council on Vocational Education (1988, 2) concluded that many inequities in the delivery of vocational education to inmates occurred throughout their correctional system. The nature and size of these inequities were dependent on the institution administration, geographic location, contracted services, educational course offerings, and gender, as well as other factors. Vocational programming in corrections is also historically noted for the over-representation of a few vocational courses, often related more to building maintenance and the reduction of operating costs of the institution than to actual labor market needs. The most prevalent programs are welding, masonry, machine shop, carpentry, auto mechanics, food services, and building maintenance (Ryan and Woodard, 1987, 34-46).

Vocational Program Completion

The Illinois Council on Vocational Education (1988, 10) reported that fewer than half of the inmates who enroll in vocational programs complete them. The Ohio Council (1990, 16) also found that, despite a 720 contact-hour standard for their vocational programs, only 6 percent of inmates enrolled in such programs and only 45 percent of that 6 percent completed vocational courses (2 percent of the total prison population). While some non-completions may occur due to circumstances identical to those found in technical schools (dropouts, suspensions by instructors), vocational course completion in prisons is heavily affected by

sentence completions, parole, probation, and institutional transfer. Transfers and paroles normally occur without the slightest consideration for the current educational status or future educational needs of the inmate. Steinfeldt (1983, 5) discussed barriers to vocational program completion being exacerbated by a combination of the low educational attainment of the inmates, an anti-education subculture among inmates, and a lack of institutional incentive for inmates to participate in educational programs.

The Context for Correctional Education

Attempts to offer vocational education programs in institutional environments occur in a context often "marked by exploitation, violence, and confusion" (Simms, Farley, and Littlefield, 1986, 2). Gehring (1989, 167) discussed the inevitable friction that exists between institutions, which by their very nature do not place student learning as a first priority, and education, which views student learning as the "central attribute of a school." Many people, in both the court system and prison administration, view educational programs in prisons as only one of many prophylactic measures to avoid violence due to inmate idleness. Such views decrease morale among instructional staff and increase the difficulty in attracting quality academic and vocational instructors in these settings (Coffey and Carter, 1986, 2). Steinfeldt (1983, 5) stated that, "in most correctional facilities, education programs must compete with industry needs, institutional maintenance, and other scheduled activities. Financial rewards for participation in education programs are lacking."

Improvement Needs of Adult Correctional Education

Hearings conducted by the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education (1981, 2-3) revealed nationwide problems in vocational education in correctional institutions due to: (a) inadequate funding; (b) inadequate facilities, equipment, instructor training, and support from administrators; (c) lack of program standards and relevance to labor market needs; and (d) an almost total lack of research, evaluation, data collection, and leadership in the field. The U.S. Department of Justice confirmed these same concerns over a decade later in *Federal Prisons Journal* (Vol. 2, No. 4, 1992). Day (1979; 6) and Hambrick (1992) claimed that improvements in correctional education are heavily dependent on the training of prison administrators and security staff because their ability "to envision the role of education and training and work habits will play in the future 'street' success of each inmate is directly related to their own education and training."

Juvenile Settings for Correctional Education

In juvenile centers around the country, students do not want to participate in school, but they are forced to attend classes. Instructors must teach a vocational course, whether career exploration or automotive mechanics, to a group of volatile and aggressive adolescents ranging in ages from 13 to 17, simultaneously. The full range of reading comprehension levels is second to twelfth grade. Over

25 percent of these students are either emotionally disturbed, learning disabled, or mildly mentally handicapped. The instruction is individualized because the instructors get one or more new students every week, twelve months per year. The instructor will spend an average of only eight to 16 weeks with the juvenile inmate, with absences of as long as a month at a time. These are the realities of vocational instructors teaching in a juvenile training school (Rominger, Christenson, Mercer, 1993).

Juvenile Students in Correctional Education

There are discussions of high-risk adolescents who are already in trouble with the juvenile justice system (Melchert & Burnett, 1990) and at-risk youth who have dropped out of high school or are likely to drop out (Bloch, 1989). The percentage of incarcerated youth with such handicaps has been estimated to be, at various times, 42 percent (Morgan, 1979, 291; Crawford, 1982, 24), 62 percent (Kardash and Rutherford 1983, 97) and 28 percent (Rutherford, Nelson, and Wolford, 1985, 61). Meanwhile, only about 59 percent of those students eligible for such programs as Chapter One Neglected and Delinquent Youth receive such services (U.S. Department of Education 1991a, 7-3). Kardash and Rutherford (1983, 97) reported that only 21 percent of students with disabilities were receiving special education services while incarcerated. Such evidence indicates that students with disabilities are traditionally over-represented and under-served in juvenile correctional institutions.

Educational Attainment

Haberman and Quinn (1986, 115) discovered that, among 759 students released from two Wisconsin juvenile correctional institutions, 40 percent of the students from one school and 22 percent of students from the other school were reading below the sixth grade level. Of the 16- and 17-year old students admitted to the schools, 42 percent at one school and 33 percent at the other had earned no high school credits before admission. This study also revealed that only 3.2 percent of the students ever completed high school during or after incarceration. Rominger (1990, 169) mentioned that, among 176 juvenile residents of a training school with a mean age of 14.9, the mean reading comprehension level was 6.9 (grade equivalent), with a range from 1.9 to 12.9. In a study of Chapter One programs in correctional institutions throughout the country, the U.S. Department of Education (1991b, 7-6) concluded that so many Chapter One Neglected and Delinquent clients were so far behind in school that most of them will neither finish high school nor earn a GED.

Vocational Programs for Juveniles in Correctional Education

Smith, Ramirez, and Rutherford (1983, 109) reported that the average length of incarceration for juveniles is about nine months. The student must adjust to incarceration, which often takes weeks, before entering school. The Ohio Council on Vocational Education (1990, 15) noted that all educational programs in juvenile institutions are open entry/open exit; this means that there is always a

great disparity in program level among program participants in the same class because vacancies are filled as soon as they occur. The Ohio Council (1990, 14) also found that, due to overcrowding and limited vocational programs, instructors may have as many as 12 aggressive and volatile convicted felons in one small laboratory at one time.

The Ohio Council on Vocational Education also reported that only 45 percent of vocational program enrollees completed their courses during 1989 and these completers represented only 15.5 percent of the total juvenile corrections population. Failure to complete courses lowered students' perceptions of program quality. This led to difficulty in recruiting new students and reduced morale among the instructional staff (Ohio Council on Vocational Education 1990, 20). Furthermore, the types of vocational program offerings are often more the result of the historical development of juvenile correctional institutions and less the result of current labor market needs (Rominger 1990, 171).

Recidivism and Vocational Correctional Education Programs

Judging the success of vocational programs in correctional institutions by their ability to affect recidivism (re-incarceration) may appear to be a logical standard for the evaluation of such programs to most people outside of corrections. However, on closer inspection, there are several features that make recidivism a measure with serious problems in reliability and validity. Recidivism has no established meaning throughout the correctional system in the United States. In a relatively pure system, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the recidivism rate at 12 months hovers around 20 percent (Saylor and Gaes, 1991, 8). Day (1979, 8) reported that, within the Federal system, recidivism at two years is about 33 percent and, after several years, flattens out at approximately 50 percent. However, these figures do not reflect former federal inmates who are later incarcerated in state systems. Recidivism rates for state systems do not reflect instances of inmates subsequently convicted of crimes and incarcerated in other state systems or in the federal system. Atkinson (1991, 1) points out that re-incarceration may be for a crime, but it also may be for a violation of the rules attendant to parole that are not, technically, criminal in nature.

A study of the federal system found evidence that some fluctuation in the recidivism rate is related directly to fluctuations in the rate of unemployment and lags about 13 months behind changes in the unemployment rate. This is about the time it takes for arrest, conviction, and incarceration (Day, 1979, 7). Day (1979, 8) also remarked, "you can't hold a one-year welding program totally accountable for reforming an adult who's been in and out of prison several times." While investigating the effect of correctional education on recidivism in Illinois, the Illinois Council on Vocational Education (1988, 57-58) found several confounding variables affecting the results of its study:

- (a) inmates may or may not participate in vocational education depending on their knowledge of or degree of uncertainty concerning their release date,
- (b) institutional work assignments and intra-system transfers directly affect

- vocational program participation and completion,
- (c) general economic conditions may affect program success (economic self-sufficiency) regardless of program completion and,
- (d) cuts in government spending that affect post-release supervision (e.g., parole officer case-load) may affect post-release success independent of academic or vocational program participation or completion.

Atkinson (1991, 1) pointed out that participants in prison-based vocational education are not randomly assigned, an important consideration in scientific investigation. Because they are self-selected, there may be personal factors among this population that affect their recidivism independent of vocational program completion. They may be more criminal or violent in nature and thus more likely to be re-incarcerated, but possibly more likely to seek vocational training while in prison. Former inmates are also notoriously hard to track; many wish to break all contact with their prison pasts and get on with their lives. Tracking or follow-up of ex-convicts requires high levels of multiple inter-agency cooperation among various government agencies.

Studies on Correctional Education and Recidivism

Despite these considerations, vocational programs in correctional settings continue to be evaluated on the recidivism rates of former students and their success in gaining jobs after incarceration. As might be expected, studies using these standards have reported mixed results. In a longitudinal study of inmates with either work experience in Federal Prison Industries or vocational training while in federal prison, or both, Saylor and Gaes (1991, 12) claim that such persons displayed better institutional adjustment while in prison and were more likely to find a full-time job during pre-release (halfway house) residence. However, both the study group and the matched control group were equally likely to complete halfway house programs successfully.

The Illinois Council on Vocational Education (1988, 10-11) reported that former inmates who took a combination of vocational and academic classes while incarcerated had the lowest rate of parole violations (19 percent) twelve months after release. Those who took neither academic nor vocational education while in prison had the highest percentage of parole violations (28 percent). Those who took, but did not necessarily complete, only vocational courses returned at a rate of 21 percent and those who took only academic classes returned at a rate of 22 percent. Inmates who took a combination of vocational and academic classes while incarcerated enjoyed a lower unemployment rate than members of the other three study groups. However, the second lowest unemployment percentage occurred with the control group (no correctional education). This study was notable because the investigators used the Illinois Department of Employment Security to track the inmates' post-release employment experiences; this data, however, could not tell the investigators whether the inmates were working in the trades for which they were trained.

Atkinson (1991, 7) found no statistically significant difference in the return rate between those who completed vocational training and those who did not in

Oklahoma. Eighty-five percent of the completers of JTPA-funded training programs in prison were employed 90 days after release. However, 48 percent were employed as laborers or in the food service industry, all low paying and low skilled jobs. As with the Illinois study, the data collection procedures did not show whether the inmates were working in the trade for which they were trained. Recidivism for all Oklahoma inmates hovered around 12 percent at one year, 24 percent at two years, and 30 percent at three years. For comparison, Minnesota Department of Corrections figures (1990, 28) place the return rate in its adult institutions at 23 percent at one year, 32 percent at two years, and 35 percent at three years after release.

Reasoning and Rehabilitation (Cognitive Skills Training Program)

In May 1988, the Correctional Service of Canada Senior Management Committee approved the implementation of a pilot project which would examine the efficacy of using the Cognitive Skills Training Program as a core component of Living Skills Programming. The pilot implementation of Cognitive Skills Training within the Service was the first stage in the development of a strategy to strengthen the quality and scope of programming required to "assist offenders in correcting their behaviors and to develop their 'livingskills'". It was the first stage in the development of a comprehensive strategy for the "personal development of offenders"-Living Skills Programming within the Correctional Service of Canada (Fabiano, Robinson, Porporino, 1990).

The need to develop a strategy for Living Skills Programming within the Service stems from the recommendations put forth in two major reports: Life Skills Programs in the Correctional Service of Canada (Smith, 1984) and Review of Offender Support Programs (Sawatsky, 1985).

In 1984, The Education and Training Division of the Correctional Service of Canada (currently Education and Personal Development) commissioned a review of all Life Skills Programs within the Service. The objective of this review was to determine whether the needs of offenders were currently being met by Life Skills and to provide recommendations for improving such programming. A set of 37 recommendations were put forward covering five major aspects of Life Skills training: goals, content, selection of participants, program delivery at the institutional, regional and national levels, and evaluation. On the basis of these recommendations, the authors of the report suggested that the Service develop a new curriculum for Life Skills Programs which would go beyond the NewStart approach and include "Cognitive Skills Training" as a core element (Smith, 1984).

The basis for traditional Life Skills Programs (at times referred to as Social Skills, Community Integration or Employment Skills Training) is the Saskatchewan NewStart Model. The model was initially designed in the 1960s to meet the learning needs of disadvantaged adults; a group of adults identified by NewStart as lacking the problem-solving skills required to manage their everyday lives in the five areas of life responsibility: self, family, job, community and leisure. NewStart viewed the primary objective of Life Skills training as

behavior change, made possible by the mastery and successful use of many specific skills (Fabiano, Robinson, Porporino, 1990).

In his 1984 review, however, Smith suggested that while the traditional training approach of the Saskatchewan NewStart Life Skills Program continues to be relevant to the needs of disadvantaged adults, there is a need for specific Life Skills training for offenders—a view which had also been reinforced in a number of related reports (Hearn, 1981; Mullen, 1981; Smith, 1981). Furthermore, it was noted that while Saskatchewan NewStart dealt with two types of skills: those which students could use in a variety of problem situations, referred to as generic skills; and those which were designed to help students learn how to deal with specific problems (e.g., employment); “offenders need to be introduced to training in generic critical thinking and interpersonal problem-solving skills, as evidenced by recent research which points to deficits among offenders in these skills areas”. Specifically, it was recommended that the Correctional Service of Canada include “Cognitive Skills Training” in Life Skills Programs for offenders (Fabiano, Robinson, Porporino, 1990).

Subsequent to these recommendations, a 1985 Task Force was asked to review all offender support programs to determine which programs should be delivered by CSC and how they should be delivered. One of the task force recommendations was that “CSC place greater emphasis on ‘living skills programs’ as a core programming requirement, and that we accept that all staff have a responsibility to assist offenders in correcting their behavior and to develop their ‘living skills’ through day to day ‘common sense’ interventions” (Rec. #33, #34). These recommendations were based on the finding that:

While only a sporadic offering of ‘life skills’ or ‘social skills’ program have been provided within CSC, and largely as a post-release program, there is strong consensus that we must, as a Service, address the very real needs of almost all inmates in terms of their ‘living skills’. Included in this area of need are poor decision-making skills, poor strategies for managing stress/conflict, anger, poor coping skills (whether in the institution or in the outside community), poor communication skills, and difficulties in terms of personal management. (Sawatsky, 1985, pg. 40).

The Task Force also indicated that no single program could begin to address these needs and that what was needed was “an integrated strategy which focuses upon the problem from not only a programming response perspective—but also from an ‘offender management’ perspective” (Fabiano, Robinson, Porporino, 1990). Inadequacies in the development of cognitive skills may result in behavioral tendencies which may limit an offender’s ability to function in a pro-social manner.

Offenders’ limited problem-solving skills, lack of self-control, failure to consider the consequences of their behavior, and the limited means-ends reasoning may make them more accepting of risk situations. Their lack of critical reasoning and consequential thinking may make them too accepting of suggestions from criminal peers, and lead them to develop erroneous beliefs which encourage criminal behavior. Their concern for the immediate, their inability to plan for

the future, and their limited problem-solving skills may prevent them from acquiring vocational skills and acquiring and maintaining employment (even when it is available). Their ability to achieve satisfaction in their life through pro-social means is effectively blocked. In fact, cognitive inadequacies may be the reason why these offenders gravitate to illegal means of obtaining such satisfaction (Fabiano, Robinson, Porporino, 1990).

Saskatchewan Newstart Life Skills Program

Unlike current Life Skills Programs, this programming is based on the cognitive model of delinquency prevention and offender rehabilitation, which attempts to train offenders in those skills and values which research has indicated are required for pro-social adaptation (Ross & Fabiano, 1985). The model flows directly from an analysis of the effective components of Canadian correctional programs.

Correctional Thinking

How one attempts to change the criminal behavior of offenders is determined by how one views, interprets, or explains their criminal behavior. A conceptual model of criminal behavior should serve as a guide for program planners and practitioners in terms of determining the target for their program efforts-the particular aspects of the offender and/or his environment which must be modified in order to prevent the persistence of the antisocial behavior (Ross & Fabiano, 1985).

The oldest, most constant and most popular approach of the criminal justice system has been deterrence. Deterrence is based on the assumption that criminal behavior is a rational act and that the offender or potential offender will choose not to offend when the punishment outweighs the rewards of his criminal behavior. Research has indicated that the outcome of programs based on a punishment or deterrence model has been far from encouraging (Blumstein, Cohen & Nagin, 1978; Fattah, 1982; Gendreau & Ross, 1981; Gibbs, 1982; Hagan, 1982; Ross & Fabiano, 1985).

Theories which stress the influence of poverty, unemployment, social class, culture conflict and the like, may address the root causes of crime, but they have yielded few, if any, cost effective programs of crime prevention or offender rehabilitation (Ross & Fabiano, 1985). As Martin, Sechrest & Redner (1981) point out, "none of these theories has the rehabilitation of criminal offenders as its focus of convenience."

Many correctional programs have been based on the such maligned medical/disease model which views criminal behavior as symptomatic of some underlying psychopathological condition which requires "cure" through some form of "therapy." There is no convincing evidence for the effectiveness of such programs (Gendreau & Ross, 1979; Ross & Fabiano, 1985).

Most correctional efforts have been developed not on the basis of empirical research on the causes of crime or recidivism but on the basis of armchair philosophizing or on program models which have been used with other populations (particularly psychiatric populations) and may not be appropriate for offenders.

Crime prevention or correctional programs which derive from faulty or inadequate conceptualizations of criminal behavior are unlikely to have much impact in reducing such behavior (Ross & Fabiano, 1985). Whereas many ineffective programs have been based on inadequate conceptual models, most have been based on no model at all (Gottfredson, 1980; Martin, et. al, 1981). It appears that the correctional system is operating in a conceptual vacuum. There is almost total dearth of explanations of criminal behavior which are supported by adequate empirical evidence and which suggest intervention strategies for correctional agencies which are feasible, practical, and effective (Martin, et. al, 1981; Ross & Fabiano, 1985; Peterson & Thomas, 1973). The acceptance of the "nothing works" edict has led many correctional agencies to adopt models which are little more than philosophies of despair (Ross & Fabiano, 1985).

Implications for Intervention

The basic assumption of the Cognitive Skills Training Program is that the offender's thinking, not his behavior, should be the primary target for offender rehabilitation. Improving an individual's cognitive skills may help to prevent him/her from engaging in anti-social behaviors by equipping the individual with the essential skills for making a successful pro-social adjustment (Ross, Fabiano, Ross, 1991). Cognitive skills, acquired either through life experience or through direct intervention, may serve to help the individual relate to his environment in a more adaptive fashion and to reduce the chances of his/her adopting a criminal life-style when a prosocial lifestyle does not seem possible for the individual. Such a conceptualization of criminal behavior has important implications for correctional programming (Ross, Fabiano & Ross, 1991).

The Cognitive Skills Training Program, based on the cognitive model, is the core component and the basis for the Living Skills Programming within the Canadian Correctional Service of Canada. The program suggests that the offender be viewed as an active participant in his criminal behavior, as a decision-maker who is poorly equipped cognitively to cope successfully, and as a person who must be taught rather than treated. The cognitive model suggests that offender rehabilitation and crime prevention can be achieved through educational programming. Accordingly, within the Cognitive Skills Training Program, emphasis is placed on teaching offenders social competence by focusing on:

- thinking skills, problem-solving and decision-making;
- general strategies for recognizing problems, analyzing them;
- conceiving and considering alternative non-criminal solutions to them;
- formulating plans;
- thinking logically, objectively, and rationally without over-generalizing, distorting facts, or externalizing blame;
- calculating the consequences of their behavior, learning to stop and think before they act;
- going beyond an egocentric view of the world and beginning to comprehend and consider the thoughts and feelings of other people;
- improving interpersonal problem-solving skills and developing coping be-

haviors which can serve as effective alternatives to anti-social or criminal behavior;

- viewing frustrations as problem-solving tasks and not just as personal threats;
- developing a self-regulatory system so that their pro-social behavior is not dependent on external control;
- controlling their life; that what happens depends on large measure on their thinking and the behavior it leads them to (Fabiano, Robinson, Porporino, 1990).

The Cognitive Skills Training program consists of the following areas: problem-solving, creative thinking, values enhancement, social skills, negotiation skills, anger and other emotions, and critical reasoning. The interview was designed to begin with the comprehensive questions relating to all of the seven areas listed above.

Problem-Solving

Many anti-social individuals have deficits in interpersonal cognitive problem-solving—the thinking skills which are required for solving problems which we all encounter in interacting with other people (Spivack, Platt & Shure, 1976).

1. In their interpersonal relations, offenders often fail to recognize that an interpersonal problem exists or is about to occur; if they do recognize it, they fail to understand it.
2. They do not or cannot consider alternative solutions to such problems, but keep responding in their same old, ineffective way.
3. They cannot calculate the consequences of their behavior on other people. It is not just that they do not; they cannot.
4. They cannot determine the best way to get what they want in their interactions with other people.
5. They do not understand the cause and effect relationship between their behavior and people's reactions to them.

The Cognitive Skills Training Program aims to teach *cognitive* and *behavioral* skills which will enable the individual to develop a *general* approach to problems.

Efficient problem-solvers first define the problem they face, then look back and consider its cause and all of the possible solutions, then anticipate the possible consequences of these options, and then carefully plan the step-by-step means to solve it, while taking the perspective of others into account. They finally consider an alternative plan if it is necessary based on the results. Of course, they may not be aware of the thinking steps they follow because they have learned them sufficiently well that they have become automatic and the steps blend together in a single process. Problem-solving may *appear* to be a single process, but it is simple only for those who have *learned* the component skills and *practiced* them using them for a considerable length of time. Offenders need to be taught all the steps and then need to practice them in the group and outside until they become automatic. They must also practice them in situations in which they

are rewarded for doing so because they yield success in solving actual problems (Ross, Fabiano, Ross, 1991).

The offender's general orientation and attitude in approaching a problem situation can greatly affect his response to that situation. Offenders need to be taught to adopt a coping set or attitude which recognizes that problem situations are a part of everyday existence and that it is possible to cope effectively with most of these situations. They also must be taught to inhibit the tendency either to do nothing or to respond on their first impulse (Ross, Fabiano, Ross, 1991).

The program is designed to enable participants to practice generation strategies with actual problem situations. Participants are taught how to analyze the alternative solutions they have generated, to evaluate the consequences of each, to select the best, and to determine what behaviors are needed to enact them (Ross, Fabiano, Ross, 1991).

Acting effectively on the best choice requires other cognitive and behavioral skills which require teaching the offender how to translate plans into action. This includes expressing his view in an assertive, rather than aggressive manner (Ross, Fabiano, Ross, 1991).

The problem-solving module is a modified version of the programs developed by Platt, Spivack & Swift (1974), Platt & Spivack (1976), and Platt & Duome (1983) for use in drug and alcohol treatment programs. The original training program (TIPS) can be obtained from Dr. J. Platt, School of Medicine and Dentistry, U.M.D. Addiction Treatment Research, 401 Haddon, Camden, New Jersey, 08103.

Social Skills

Many offenders behave in an anti-social manner because they lack the skills to behave in a pro-social manner. Many lack the skills to interact positively with peers, teachers, parents, employers or other authority figures (including correctional officers). The ability to interact in social situations in such a way that one gains acceptance and reinforcement, rather than punishment and rejection, requires that the offender develop an adequate repertoire of thinking and social skills.

There are many approaches to social skills training, but the approach preferred by the authors of the Cognitive Skills Training Program is a modified version of Goldstein's *Structured Learning Therapy* (SLT) has been used in a wide variety of settings with an equally wide variety of clients including anti-social individuals. In SLT, a large number of skills are taught (Ross, Fabiano, Ross, 1991).

The Management of Anger and Other Emotions

There is convincing evidence that offenders who have acquired the social cognitive skills taught in this program learn to apply these skills in social situations outside of the group and thereby improve their ability to solve many of the interpersonal conflicts which previously would have led to anti-social or deviant behavior. Moreover, they learn to avoid such situations before they develop. However, an offender cannot avoid all conflict. There will be times when the problems he/she encounters will make him highly aroused both emotionally and physi-

ologically.

Emotions, of course, are a crucial aspect of thinking. There are few thoughts without emotion; few emotions without thoughts. The emotion is often stronger than and overrides the thought. It is imperative that offenders learn to use cognitive techniques to manage their emotions so that they no longer are simply controlled by them.

A moderate level of arousal in conflict situations is both natural and essential since it energizes and can serve to motivate problem-solving activity. Very strong feelings and high levels of arousal, however, interfere with the individual's application of cognitive skills which he has no difficulty using when he is calm.

In large measure, the offender's success in social adaptation will depend on his ability to:

1. Respond to interpersonal conflict in a manner which effectively prevents him from becoming emotionally aroused. This ability can be achieved in most situations by application of the various skills taught in this program.
2. Maintain or reduce his level of arousal to a moderate level in emotionally provoking situations.
3. Persist in applying the cognitive skills even when his arousal is high. This ability can be developed in two ways:
 1. By *practicing* his cognitive skills so frequently that they become habitual, automatic responses to interpersonal stress.
 2. By *practicing these skills under emotionally arousing conditions*. Instructors are encouraged to hold highly intense provocative discussions.

The authors of the program want the offenders to practice the application of the skills under conditions which correspond as closely as possible to the emotionally charged conflicts he is likely to encounter outside of the sessions.

Creative Thinking

Ross, Fabiano & Ross (1990) report that many offenders evidence cognitive rigidity—they stubbornly cling to their ideas regardless of contrary evidence; they are imprisoned by their ideas.

They persist in conceptualizing new situations or problems in terms of views which they had developed from former situations without considering the appropriateness, objectivity or adequacy of the old view for the new circumstances.

Such perseveration of thinking often indicates basic difficulties in forming alternative conceptualizations. Their cognitive inflexibility may give the offender major problems in comprehending social problems, or complex situations, or changing circumstances.

It may also give them a low level of tolerance for stress—when faced with change in his environment, his inability to change his thinking or to synthesize the new information with his former cognitive set may lead to his being overwhelmed and may engender maladaptive and inappropriate behavior.

Cognitive inflexibility also leads to repetitive behavior. The offender who persists in repeating his anti-social acts in spite of repeated punishment and little

reward may not only be risk-taking; his behavior may actually reflect a basic cognitive deficit-an inability to develop alternative views of his world and to conceptualize alternative ways of achieving his goals or solving his problem.

Offenders may respond poorly to advice or counseling not only because of poor attitudes or poor motivation, but because their inability to alter their perspective makes them, in effect, impervious to new ideas-particularly other people's ideas. Many inmates are highly judgmental-they have strong biases and fixed notions about what they think is worthwhile and what they think is useless. Because of this and because of their impulsivity, they frequently evidence a "rush to judgement" in which they accept or reject an idea without giving it any more than instantaneous consideration. In doing so, they fail to see the advantages and disadvantages of the idea.

In the Creative Thinking sessions, some of the techniques developed by Edward de Bono are utilized to teach what he refers to as "lateral thinking"-creative thinking which enables the generation of new ideas in contrast to more conventional thinking which tends to inhibit the production of ideas by its dependence on fixed cognitive patterns.

de Bono's techniques are described in an impressive quantity of publications. His techniques have seldom been used with offenders, but Ross, Fabiano, and Ross have field-tested some of them with high-risk offenders and believe that with some modification they can be effectively used to help them to broaden their perception, to enlarge their view of situations and people, to think about more aspects, and to incorporate different ways of looking at viewpoints.

Educators of the Cognitive Skills program teach a set of thinking tools which de Bono has developed to help stimulate or remind the individual to systematically apply creative thinking strategies in many situations. The tools are artificial. This is deliberate. They are primarily means of getting the offender to develop a *deliberate and systematic* process of thinking. They are designed to help crystallize his thinking and make it follow a particular form. After an adequate amount of practice, the offenders will come to apply these thinking techniques automatically, with decreasing reliance on the tools.

Values Enhancement

There is little sense in teaching offenders cognitive skills unless one also teaches values; otherwise one's program may only produce more skilled offenders. Ross, Fabiano, and Ross do not recommend advice-giving or telling offenders what the "correct" values are. They recommend challenging the offenders to examine their beliefs, raising questions which stimulate them to reconsider their views, and suggesting alternative perspectives. Ross, Fabiano, and Ross believe that there is one universal value which all individuals should adopt: concern for the feelings of other people. It is this value which the authors of the Cognitive Skills Program believe must be taught to offenders; it is this value which is the focus of their program and the primary target of their values enhancement program.

The authors' general approach to teaching empathy is to continually challenge the offender's egocentric thinking and to stimulate him into considering the views,

wishes, attitudes, and feelings of other people. The values enhancement sessions have been designed to ensure that the offenders are continually engaged in activities which require that they think about the feelings of others. This is done by exposing them to social and cognitive conflict-by creating situations in which they find that they are in conflict about what they believe and in which their ideas are in conflict with those of others. In these situations the participants come to seriously question and examine their ideas about many important matters of morality and, more important, they are impelled to consider the points of view of other people (Ross, Fabiano, Ross, 1991).

Critical Reasoning

Ross, Fabiano & Ross (1991) point out that an essential aspect of learning how to think is learning to think *critically*. Critical thinking does not mean finding fault with someone or something. Rather, it refers to a particular quality of thinking—*thinking carefully, logically, and rationally*. The adjective 'critical' is meant to indicate that the individual who uses such thinking can judge or evaluate his thinking and the thinking of others to ensure that it is logical and rational—that the conclusions which he arrives at or which are presented to him have been arrived at without flaws in logic, and are based on sufficient and correct information, rather than on biases, unwarranted assumptions, distortions of facts, or untested opinions.

The thinking of many offenders is emotional rather than rational. As a result, they evidence many erroneous beliefs and unreasonable attitudes which they cling to stubbornly and rigidly, impervious to new information (or advice or counseling) because they are unable to critically evaluate their own opinions. Ironically, the same lack of critical reasoning may make them easily misled by others because they are unable to adequately judge the reasonableness of information and suggestions that are presented to them.

As participants become skilled at critical thinking, they will be in a better position to evaluate their own and others' ideas, attitudes, and actions. They also will tend to withhold judgments and consider all the evidence in a careful and orderly manner. Training in critical reasoning also fosters:

1. intellectual curiosity;
2. objectivity;
3. flexibility (avoiding dogma, rigidity and thinking that one has all the answers);
4. sound judgment;
5. open-mindedness;
6. relevance (avoiding irrelevancies);
7. persistence (in seeking evidence);
8. decisiveness (accepting conclusions only when evidence warrants it); and
9. respect for other points of view (humility and accurate consideration of contradictory views) (D'Angelo, 1971).

The acquisition of critical thinking skills will immeasurably improve ability to use all the social-cognitive skills taught in the program. There is, in fact, consid-

erable overlap between those skills and the skills involved in critical reasoning.

Finally, training in critical reasoning will improve not only the offender's social reasoning, but also his social behavior-because he will learn to react to the statements of others (even contrary statements) rationally than emotionally, and he will be able to *reason* with others rather than argue with them. His tolerance for others may improve and he will become more "*reasonable*" in his response to them (Ross, Fabiano, Ross, 1991).

In preparing the *CRITICAL REASONING MODULE*, Ross, Fabiano, and Ross examined and field-tested a number of Critical Reasoning courses used in schools and colleges. The most useful of those courses was found to be Harnadek's (1976) approach. They have extensively modified the content and scope of Harnadek's program in order to make it appropriate and understandable for correctional populations.

Training in critical reasoning involves group discussions in which clients practice skills in four areas:

1. *Persuasion*-the ability to critically assess ideas presented to them by others.
2. *Thinking Errors*-learning to detect errors in their own thinking and that of others which lead to wrong conclusions.
3. *Assumptions, Facts, and Inferences*-learning to check the basic concepts (words, facts, opinions, etc.) that are being used in their thinking and others' thinking so that they can fully understand what is being said.
4. *Open-mindedness*-learning to suspend judgment and consider views, issues and arguments other than one's own before reaching a conclusion.

Conclusion

The delivery of educational services in institutions that do not have education as a primary purpose is a complicated process. Education is only one of many elements that make up the organizational culture of corrections. There is little hard proof that education promotes the goal of criminal justice more than any other component of corrections. Yet correctional education is justified by the common sense of improving the lot of convicted criminals and the proven relationship between low educational achievements and incarceration.

The characteristics of adults and juveniles in correctional institutions include low educational attainment, school failure, learning problems, and educational resistance. They are among the highest risk individuals in our society for failure at work, learning, and life. In response to this proven need, the criminal justice systems of this country have provided support, sometimes only half-hearted, for education as insurance against further criminal activity.

Proponents of correctional education claim that its benefits are enhanced by comprehensive and holistic design composed of assessment that reports the inmates' needs in achieving functional competency in communication and mathematics, an academic curriculum that will address those needs, vocational special education, and intensive transitional services before and after release (Rutherford, Nelson, and Wolford 1985, 64-68). Improvement of correctional education requires support by correctional administrators and the prison culture, pro-

fessionalism among its practitioners, leadership among its supporters, and extensive evaluation and research.

Corrections education is adversely affected by low levels of funding; disregard for educational needs during decisions on the disposition of inmates; facilities not designed for education services; lack of research, an overall mission and a strategic plan for corrections; and a lack of support from prison administrators on the inside and public educators on the outside. Despite these barriers, correctional education is often expected to reduce recidivism and guarantee the future job success of inmates after only spare and intermittent contact with them during their incarceration.

However, improving offenders' cognitive skills through the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program from the Canadian Correctional Service can help prevent them from engaging in antisocial behaviors after release. The program equips the offender with essential skills for making a successful prosocial adjustment.

Preliminary analyses of the program have provided evidence that offenders made key gains in attitudes and cognitive skills. Offenders who completed the program became more positive toward the law, courts and police, increased their social perspective-taking abilities, improved in critical reasoning skills, and showed more capacity for optional thinking. Therefore, the program needs to be examined more fully as a precursor to vocational programming for inmates. (Correctional Service Canada, 1993).

Summary

The Review of the Literature is composed of two main sections: the condition of correctional education in Minnesota and the elements of the Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program of the Canadian Correctional Service.

The first section deals with the condition of correctional education in Minnesota, the background of correctional education, the evolution of correctional education, the contributions of Minnesotans to correctional education, the mission of correctional education, administration of correctional education, adult settings for correctional education, adult students in correctional education, vocational programs for adult inmates, the context for correctional education, juvenile settings for correctional education, juvenile students in correctional education, vocational programs for juveniles in correctional education, recidivism and vocational correctional education programs, and studies on correctional education and recidivism.

The second section deals with the Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program of the Canadian Correctional Service. The components of the Cognitive Skills Training Course include: problem-solving, creative thinking, values enhancement, social skills, negotiation skills, anger and other emotions, and critical reasoning.

Methodology

Introduction

This study was designed to examine the relationship between cognitive skills training as a precursor to vocational education in prisons and positive post-prison

outcomes. A cross-case study methodology was selected as the most appropriate strategy to address the questions raised by the study.

Cross-Case Study Method

A cross-case study approach was selected as most appropriate for this study because of its exploratory nature. Glaser and Strauss (1967, 1970) argued for using "multiple comparison groups" to find out "under what sets of structural conditions [the] hypotheses are minimized and maximized." The researcher can "calculate where a given order of events or incidents is most likely to occur or not occur." (p.288). Multiple cases also help the researcher find negative cases to strengthen a theory, built through examination of similarities and differences across cases. That process, they suggested, is much quicker and easier with multiple cases than with a single case. Multiple cases not only pin down the specific conditions under which a finding will occur but also help us form the more general categories of how those conditions may be related.

As Silverstein (1988) puts it, we are faced with the tension between the particular and the universal: reconciling an individual case's uniqueness with the need for more general understanding of generic processes that occur across cases. That uniqueness, he suggests, resides in the individual's developmental history over time-but "encapsulated within the general principles that influence its development." (p.425). Noblit and Hare (1983), in considering cross-case work, suggest that it "must have a theory of social explanation that both preserves uniqueness and entails comparison." In their more recent work (1988), they also emphasize that aggregating or averaging results across cases is bound to lead to misinterpretation and superficiality. So the intellectual needs here are clear, but specific approaches are not so obvious.

The critical-incident technique will be incorporated in this design. Borg & Gall (1989) mention that this technique was developed by John Flanagan. The process involves studying the performance of one group of individuals by asking another group of individuals to describe "critical incidents" that relate to the performance of the first group. The researcher will use interviews to obtain from the guards and teachers descriptions of the inmate's specific behavior patterns that are considered to be critical to the skills being studied in the cognitive skills training class. Borg & Gall (1989) caution that the most serious problem encountered in using the critical-incident technique is to obtain incidents from the individuals interviewed that seem to be truly critical to the behavior or skills being studied. If incidents can be collected that are truly critical, that truly differentiate between successful and unsuccessful behavior, then this method can be very useful research approach.

Rationale. "Truth in the fields of human affairs," states Steak (1978), "is better approximated by statements that are rich with the sense of human encounter". Katz (1959) suggests "we will make merely limited progress until we can study the powerful forces which affect people in the real social world (p.467). The perceived need for attention to individual differences, behavior and attitudes in naturalistic settings, inter-relatedness of events, complexity and wholeness of

personality has led to a renewed interest in case study methodology (Goldman, 1978). Case studies deliberately move away from the attempt to generalize; they seek to particularize. Case studies are premised on the belief that more is to be gained by deep understanding of a few individuals than from shallow understanding of many.

("For most purposes I would rather have 25 to 50 well done interviews than 1000 questionnaires" Goldman, 1978, p.19). Case studies are oriented to interrelatedness of data, and patterns of experience rather than measurements of events isolated from all other events. Case studies have traditionally been focused on both psychological and sociological data in an attempt "to 'control in' as many theoretically relevant ecological contrasts as possible" (Bronfenbrenner 1977, p.518). Case studies do not lead to simple explanations of complex behavior, indeed they work in the other direction: "the case study...proliferates rather than narrows. One is left with more to pay attention to rather than less" (Steak 1978, p. 7). Yet it is the very ability of the case study to provide, rich, complex, intricate data that makes it attractive to those who believe psychology has been perhaps too spare, sterile, and unrelated to real people in real situations. There seems to be a new mood among researchers that is aptly expressed by John Rothney (1968): "It seems unlikely that anyone in the foreseeable future will describe a child or youth well enough so that he can be fully known. In one sense, it is brash to think it can ever be done, but if ever an approximation to that goal is reached, it will be attained by the writing of a good case study" (p.vii).

Finally, since the Cognitive Skills Program is designed for inmates and the people who work with them (correctional educators and guards) it is important to keep in mind that research should take account of the context and also the relevant forces outside the unit being studied. Case study research is an ideal design for understanding and interpreting observations of such educational programming.

Considerations. Case studies, like all other research methodologies, have both strengths and weaknesses. The strengths of case study methodology are its sensitivity to individual differences, patterns of interactions, infrequent behavior, and the situational specificity of naturalistic environments (Allport, 1960; Anton, 1978; Steak, 1978). "There seems to be universal agreement," states Bolgar (1965), "about the fact that the case study method is the ideal way to generate hunches, hypotheses, and important discoveries" (p.31). On the other hand, it is difficult to generalize from case studies to large populations. Idiographic data does not lead easily to summary variables. The lack of standardization in the interview and in the response leaves room for subjective bias. The analysis of qualitative data is difficult and subject to charges of subjectivity and lack of reliability (Miller & Warner, 1975). Those who use a case study approach should use it because its strengths are the strengths they need, and they should design their studies to offset the weaknesses inherent in the methodology, to the degree that it is possible.

Potential Sources of Difficulty

If a case study approach is to be used, the researcher should be aware of the following potential sources of difficulty in the study:

- 1) Bias in the selection of subjects: Because case studies do not use the large randomly chosen samples of survey research, the researcher may carelessly ignore the question of sample bias in choosing his/her subjects. Case study researchers need, at the very least, to document how their subjects are chosen and to provide a rationale for the appropriateness of their choice they wish to explore.
- 2) Choices in constructing the interview: The form of the interview questions, the sequencing of questions within the interview, the wording of specific questions and the overall flexibility or structure of the interview are all matters that deserve the researcher's attention. Other questions to consider in the design of the interview are whether the information desired should be obtained through an objective standardized question, whether the phrasing of the question biases the answer, whether the questions will elicit appropriate responses, how the questions should be sequenced in the interview (Oppenheim, 1966).
- 3) The relation of theory and hypotheses to the interview: Anton (1978) says "The most important question in determining how to design a particular study is the answer to the question, 'What do I want to know?'" (p.130). Existing theory and research can identify the areas of inquiry most likely to result in substantive data.
Existing theory and previous research have also identified relationships the researcher should not ignore: the relationship of past experiences to present responses, the influence of the subject's concept of the future to present behavior (Rothney, 1968), the influence of the situation on the subject (Bem, 1978).
- 4) Potential bias introduced by the interviewer: Interviewers introduce dimensions of personality, attitude, and relationship which affect the responses of the interviewee. While these elements of subjectivity are an inherent part of the interview process and cannot be fully removed or controlled, contemporary research demands that they be documented by a description of the interview process and a documentation of any possible confounding introduced by the interviewer (Bolgar, 1965; Rothney, 1968). If the interviewer is also to play some part in the analysis of the data through submission of notes, impressions or conceptualizations, it is again important that subjective bias be controlled. Jahoda (1951) says, "The judgment of data collectors are frequently unreliable because they are colored by irrelevancies (the appearance and mannerisms of the respondent, the accent of the respondent, responses to previous questions, etc.) (p.270). Guba (1976) warns against assuming that the informant has had the same experiences as the interviewer, has the same understandings, has the same psychological characteristics (see also Kahn & Connell, 1957).
- 5) Limitations of free-response interview data: Three issues need to be raised under this heading: 1) the possible incompleteness of interview responses,

- 2) the potential for deliberate distortion of information by the respondent, and 3) the limitations on what subjects can report of their own behavior and attitudes. Jahoda (1951) and others acknowledge the reliability difficulties with interview research. Some variability in response can be controlled, however, with carefully constructed questions and alert probing when material is omitted. The lack of information due to inadvertent omission, lack of salience or random retrieval is perhaps not as potentially damaging to the interview as deliberate distortions by the informant, however. Bolgar (1965) mentions the potential for "subject's defensiveness, transference feelings, or fantasies and the often unknown ideal image of himself which he tries to present" (p.34). Deliberate distortion is usually augmented by less malicious distortion arising from response sets and the limited access we have to our own feelings and attitudes. Endler (1975) has noted that "When people explain their own behaviors, they emphasize situational factors, but when they describe others, they do so in terms of consistent dispositional personality constructs" (p.14). Jahoda reports, "Many of our important beliefs and motivations are inaccessible or unconscious: not being aware of them we cannot report them" (p.154).
- 6) Limitations on generalizability: Case study researchers have been regularly cautioned about the lack of generalizability of their results due to the non-representative nature of their subjects and the qualitative nature of their data (Bolgar, 1965). There are obvious needs for caution in not projecting idiosyncratic responses onto large populations. However, there are obvious limitations on the generalizability of experimental and survey research results to the lives of individuals in natural settings as well. Researchers must be aware of how their choice of subjects and methodology affects the reporting of their results. More important than the limitations of a given methodology is its appropriate use and explanation.

In this chapter, the four methodological steps are discussed. These include: a) instrument design b) selection of participants; c) data collection, and d) data analysis.

Instrument design. The principal strategy for collecting data was the interview. A series of interviews were conducted with ten inmates who completed the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program at the Minnesota Correctional Facility-Lino Lakes. The questionnaire used in the interview covered the inmates' assessment of the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program. The interview guide was designed to assess the acquisition or development of competencies that were the focus of the Cognitive Skills Training. Cognitive skills development was assessed by measuring problem solving, values enhancement, creative thinking, critical thinking, and management of emotions.

Selection of Participants

This section identifies the population, sample, and procedures applied for selecting the research participants.

Population

The population for this study were the 300 sociopathic male inmates at the Minnesota Correctional Facility-Lino Lakes in Lino Lakes, Minnesota. The Minnesota Correctional Facility-Lino Lakes is located on 160 acres approximately 20 miles north of the Twin Cities. Opened in 1963 as the Minnesota Metropolitan Training Center, the institution was a juvenile reception center and later a juvenile treatment facility for Hennepin, Anoka and Ramsey Counties.

Due primarily to declining juvenile populations and increasing adult inmate numbers, in 1978 the center was remodeled and converted to an adult male medium security institution called the Minnesota Correctional Facility-Lino Lakes. Five medium security living units house inmates within the facility's secure perimeter. Two minimum security living units are located outside the perimeter. Two other units outside the perimeter are owned and operated by Anoka County.

Construction of two additional living units within the security perimeter was completed in 1992. The current capacity of 290 inmates at the prison has now increased to 440.

Inmates are carefully screened prior to transfer to Lino Lakes from the maximum security facilities at Stillwater, St. Cloud and Oak Park Heights. Although appropriate longer-term inmates are admitted, inmates are generally within the last 10 to 30 months of incarceration. Stable work and behavior records are prerequisites. Inmates are required to sign a legally binding contract which commits them to participation in industry, education and/or treatment programs. Inmates must also agree in writing to abide by all institution rules.

The Lino Lakes facility is an industrial prison where inmates work eight-hour days in industry programs or in institution support services such as maintenance or food preparation. Treatment, education and vocational programs are offered after work hours. Programs are designed to control inmates' behavior and assist them in returning to the community as law-abiding citizens.

Programs at MCF-Lino Lakes

The programs at Lino Lakes include: industry, treatment, pre-release, education, and Sesame Street.

Industry A primary focus at Lino Lakes, industry programs provide realistic work experiences which inmates can use to find jobs when they are returned to the community. Industries include printing, furniture manufacturing, assembly, upholstery, and metal and wood fabrication. Private industry contracts provide a variety of projects in institution shops.

Inmates work 40-hour weeks and are required to pay taxes and save funds from wages for their release. Inmates also must pay a portion of their wages to crime victim programs.

Treatment The Transitional Sex Offender Program has inpatient and community phases. Following an orientation period inmates participate in intensive therapy and complete educational classes in the evenings after their regular work day. Family therapy sessions and marital groups are also included.

In the community phase participants must attend therapy sessions weekly dur-

ing at least the first four months after release. They also attend a weekly group session which meets at Lino Lakes for four to six months after release.

The Kenny Therapeutic Community is a four-phase treatment program that offers intensive, confrontative therapy for inmates diagnosed as having antisocial or character disorder personalities.

Pre-release A pre-release program is designed to assist inmates in finding employment upon release. Participants are permitted to apply for work and gradually readjust to the community.

Education Services Services include literacy instruction, adult basic education, GED preparation classes, driver education, vocational counseling, survival skills instruction, and parenting and art classes.

Higher education classes and college academic counseling are offered by a college consortium. Insight, a nonprofit organization supported by private funds, provides additional post-secondary opportunities.

Sesame Street Under the direction of a licensed supervisor, selected inmates are trained to work as volunteers with children who are on family visits at the institution. Called Sesame Street, the program provides positive educational and entertaining experiences for children and allows parents to visit without having to be concerned about the supervision of their children.

Volunteers are trained in the fundamentals of working with children which improves understanding of parental rules and provides opportunities for family counseling.

Community Involvement Community involvement at Lino Lakes includes: advisory committee, organizations, and volunteers.

Advisory Committee The community advisory committee provides a liaison function between the institution and surrounding communities. A primary goal of the committee is to promote a better understanding of the facility's purposes and programs.

Composed of interested citizens, the committee meets monthly and offers support for activities considered beneficial to the facility and the community.

Organizations Community organizations are actively involved in assisting inmates in a variety of activities. For example, Jaycee group meetings, Alcoholics Anonymous and cultural activities are scheduled regularly.

Volunteers An active custody and resource volunteer program provides support and assistance in many institutional areas.

Sample

Lino-Lakes has been experimenting with the Cognitive Skills Training during the last two years. Fifteen inmates who had participated in the training were invited to participate. Eleven responded. Of these, ten were selected for intensive case study.

The subjects were identified by contacting them at the institution. The prisoners had completed the program during the time period of January-August, 1994.

The following is a description of each of the inmates in the sample. All have been judged as exhibiting sociopathic behavior or are sociopathic.

Prisoner #1 is a thirty-one year old black male who has been convicted of nine misdemeanor property offenses and four felony person (sexual) offenses. He has been told by staff psychologist to attend chemical dependency classes at Lino Lakes, but has refused to do this. He has been convicted of four internal violations. He has ten more months left in his sentence. He possesses a twelfth grade reading level, but he has not graduated from high school. When he is released, he will be placed on public risk monitoring.

Prisoner #2 is a thirty year old black male who has been convicted of three felony property offenses and three felony person (sexual) offenses. He is addicted to alcohol, marijuana and cocaine. He currently attends drug treatment classes at the prison, as well as sex offense treatment classes. He has not been convicted of any internal violations. He has three more years left in his sentence. He completed high school. When he is released, he will be placed on public risk monitoring.

Prisoner #3 is a thirty-two year old black male who has been convicted of three misdemeanor property offenses, five felony property offenses, and three felony person offenses. He is a marijuana addict who has been asked to attend drug treatment classes, but he has chosen to drop out of three chemical dependency programs. He has been convicted of two internal violations, but his staff psychologist reports that he is generally easy to get along with. He has five months left in his sentence. He is a high school graduate and has completed one year of vocational training in carpentry.

Prisoner #4 is a thirty-four year old white male who has been convicted of two felony (sexual) person offenses. After two years, he is now willing to attend sex offense treatment sessions. He has two years left in his sentence. He has a GED. When he is released, he will be placed on public risk monitoring.

Prisoner #5 is a fifty year old black male who has been convicted of one murder of a police officer. He received a life sentence. He has a Bachelor's degree. He has never received an internal conviction.

Prisoner #6 is a thirty-three year old black male who has been convicted of three felony property offenses and three sex offenses. He has no chemical dependency problems. He reads at a second-grade reading level and has not completed junior high school. He has two years left in his sentence. He refuses to actively participate in a sex offender treatment program. When released he will be placed on public risk monitoring.

Prisoner #7 is a thirty-four year old black male who has been convicted of three misdemeanor property offenses, one felony property offense, and one felony person offense. He dropped out of high school in the tenth grade. He has an eighth grade reading level. He has nine months left in his sentence.

Prisoner #8 is a twenty-seven year old black male who has been convicted of one felony person (sexual) offense and one felony property offense. He has graduated from high school. He has been trained in food service for three years. He is chemically dependent. He now attends chemical dependency treatment classes to fight his marijuana addiction. He has three months left of his sentence. When he is released, he will be placed under public risk monitoring.

Prisoner #9 is a twenty-nine year old white male who has been convicted of three felony property offenses. He has completed chemical dependency treatment. He has been involved in industry at the prison since he arrived fifteen months ago. He works in the woodshop. He is discipline free. He reads at a twelfth grade reading level, but has not completed high school. He has four years left to serve of his sentence.

Prisoner #10 is a thirty-one year old black male who has been convicted of two felony property offenses and one felony person (sexual) offense. He is actively involved in the sex offense treatment program. He is not literate. He will be released in one year. When he is released, he will be placed on public risk monitoring.

Limitations

Deliberate deception in self-presentation is always an issue in psychological assessment settings, particularly when there is something to be gained by the respondent. One such situation involves persons who are incarcerated and for whom a particular assessment result might lead to a number of positive outcomes, such as admission to a rehabilitation program, special privileges, or early release (Benedict & Lanyon, 1992).

Data Collection

This section includes: a) locating the subjects and b) describing the interview process. The subjects were located by contacting the Educational Director at Lino Lakes. A list was provided of all graduates of the program within the last year. All inmates chosen were male.

Inmates were notified of the purpose of the research. Guidelines of the Human Subjects Committee of the University of Minnesota, as well as the Minnesota Department of Corrections were strictly adhered to. All interviews were conducted by the researcher. The majority of the subjects requested that no witnesses be present during the interview. To be consistent and to respect the wishes of the inmates, no witness was in the room during the interview. The entire interview was taped. The tapes were transcribed by the researcher and stored under lock and key in the investigator's home.

This procedure holds constant most interviewer effects. Standardized introductory comments were utilized and the wording and the order of the questions followed the interview guide.

Subjects were asked to grant an hour interview in the prison. The objective questionnaire was administered at the time of the interview before the interview itself.

The interview followed a standard form but follow-up questions and probes were used as the interviewer deemed necessary. Notes on the response were taken by the interviewer. Subjects were assured of confidentiality in the treatment of the data. Response notes were identified by code numbers rather than subjects' names. All subjects were asked to sign a standardized human subjects release form before the interview.

Data Analysis

Collecting data for case studies is often an enjoyable task because subjects usually are eager to talk about themselves and interviewers are encouraged by the seeming face validity of what they are hearing. Analyzing data of this nature is, in contrast, often slow, tedious, and difficult. Case study data is immensely rich and complex as one would expect it to be. There is no adequate documented procedure for content analysis of qualitative data. What has been written tends to be an outline of procedural steps which is of little help in the most difficult part of the task. The key to content analysis is not mechanical procedure but insight and conceptualization which only is accomplished in one way: "we must return to the difficult and often painstaking process of 'thinking'" (Anton, 1978, p. 119).

Thinking about the data hopefully results in a conceptual scheme that organizes and explains the data and can be used across subjects in a uniform way. Content analysis thus inductively produces a conceptual framework from the data that systematically explains the responses in relationship to the hypothesis of the study and relevant theory. Good case studies are not a mere reporting of all the elicited data. "A tendency on the part of researchers," says Glock (1967), is "to abdicate their own function as analysts and interpreters and, in effect, to ask their respondents to do the analysis for them" (p. 354). Good analysts seek to go beyond the surface appearance of their data discovering regularities, patterns and interrelationships not apparent to the respondents themselves or to the casual reader of the transcripts. The critical issue in case study research is the relative insight of the conceptualizations offered by the data analyst. "Content analysis stands or falls by its categories" (Berelson, 1952, in Stone, et. al., 1966, p. 9).

Procedures for establishing content categories have been described by a number of authors. Oppenheimer (1966) suggests:

- a. Examine a representative sample on one question.
- b. Choose to "lose" information that means the least.
- c. Choose categories that will include a dozen or more responses even when broken into subsamples.
- d. The coding frame will depend upon previous theory.
- e. Write clear directions that will allow definitive decisions by code.
- f. In difficult coding, give broad general labels, possibly followed by examples. (pp. 223-254).

Guba (1978) offers the following suggestions for determining categories: 1) look for recurring regularities, 2) look for internal homogeneity among items in categories, 3) look for external heterogeneity, 4) avoid large item pools of unclassified data, 5) be satisfied with discrete categories that have no ordinality; 6) go back to the field to flesh out categories, 7) prioritize on the basis of salience, credibility, uniqueness, heuristic value, feasibility, special interests, and materiality (pp. 53-56).

Apart from the conceptualizations that ultimately organize the data, the most critical issue in content analysis is the choice about what material will be used and will be discarded. Guba's (1978) rules for inclusion are:

1. include any information that extends the area of information,

2. include any information that relates or bridges several already existing items,
3. include any information that identifies or brings to the surface new elements of importance,
4. add any information which reinforces existing information,
5. add any information that tends to explain other information already available,
6. add any information which exemplifies either the nature of the category or important evidence within the category,
7. add anything which tends to refute existing information. (pp.59-60).

Rothney (1968) warns that the process of inclusion and exclusion of information is subject to selective bias and urges that the analyst document what has been excluded and the grounds for that decision.

A number of writers (Allport, 1960, Bronfenbrenner, 1977, Endler, 1975, McGuire, 1973, Rothney, 1968) have argued that particular attention should be focused on the interaction of person and environment in case study analysis. Endler (1975) says, "Asking whether behavior variance is due to either situations or to person... is analogous to asking whether air or blood is more essential to life" (p.16). The strength of a case study is precisely in its ability to not artificially abstract variables from their relationship to other variables. Case study analysts should look for conceptualizations that will capture the interaction of the personal and the social in their data.

Once an analysis framework has been devised, it must stand tests of reliability and validity. Standards of reliability and validity established for statistical data usually do not apply to the small samples and qualitative data of case studies. Therefore, other standards must be determined. "It could, in fact, be argued that every kind of data requires a different, individualized method of establishing validity and reliability" (Campbell, 1980, p.15). The face validity of the actual data of case studies is usually quite strong. But evidence for the validity of analysis categories needs to be supplied by the researcher. Guber (1978) suggests that one criterion should be that the categories "should be credible to the person who provided the information" (p.57). Jahoda (1951) argues that other judges should be able to understand the content analysis scheme and use it with similar results. Guba (1978) urges testing of initial impressions against other data sources to see if they hold up. Lortie (1981) has suggested generating alternative competing hypotheses which might explain the data better. Internal and external consistency is another test: "Viewed internally, the individual categories should appear to be consistent; viewed externally, the set of categories should seem to comprise a whole picture" (Guba, 1978 p.56).

Reliability is a greater problem for case study material than validity (Bolgar, 1965). With open-minded responses we can probably never be sure that we have data that is not heavily influenced by differential recall, situational salience of some issues over others, and response sets of our subjects. Test-retest reliabilities are rarely run in case study research. Researchers rely instead on finding data that is consistent over subjects, on exhaustive study of single subjects, and on the

heuristic strength of their explanations. A strong case study is often persuasive enough to answer most of the technical criticisms. Strong case studies ultimately convince their readers that the characters were true and authentic.

Summary

This study was designed to examine the relationship between cognitive skills training as a precursor to vocational education in prisons and positive post-prison outcomes. A cross-case study methodology was selected as the most appropriate strategy to address the questions raised by the study.

Four methodological steps were discussed. They included: 1) instrument design; 2) selection of participants; 3) data collection; and 4) data analysis.

Findings

Introduction

This chapter presents the major findings of the research study. The results of the data analysis are organized in cross-case displays to enhance generalizability and to deepen understanding and explanation. The critical incident technique was used to obtain descriptions of the subject's specific behavior patterns that are considered to be critical to the skills being studied.

As Ragin (1987) emphasizes, a case-oriented approach considers the case as a whole entity, looking at configurations, associations, causes, and effects within the case-and only then turns to comparative analysis of a (usually) limited number of cases.

As Ragin (1993) notes, case-oriented analysis is good at finding specific, concrete, historically-grounded patterns common to small sets of cases, but its findings often remain particularistic, "while pretending to great generality (p.299).

Utilizing variable-oriented strategies, this researcher looked for themes that cut across cases. Pearsol (1985) noted the importance of locating recurring themes. Eisenhardt (1989) carefully looked at the evidence within each case, not just aggregate superficially.

Case-Level Display for Partially Ordered Meta-Matrix

In this variable-oriented analysis, there are five rows. The prisoner's assessment of the various content areas (problem-solving, social skills, negotiation skills, values enhancement, management of emotions, creative thinking, and critical thinking) is noted in the first row. The researcher's (author's) assessment of the inmate's level of understanding of the content area is discussed in the second row. This researcher made the assessment immediately following the interview with the prisoner, i.e., before interviewing the teachers and correctional officers, and before reviewing the inmate's file. The teacher's assessment of the inmate's level of understanding of the content area is discussed in the third row. It should be noted that four different teachers took part in this study. Instructors commented on their own students. The guard's assessment of the prisoner's level of understanding of the content area is discussed in the fourth row. Two guards took part in this study. This researcher asked the correctional officers to comment on

familiar inmates. In one case, the guard did not know the inmate or the situation well enough to comment. This researcher reviewed the base files of all ten inmates in the study. The comments from the files are displayed in the fifth row. These represent the opinions and/or actions of guards and/or psychologists who performed interviews of the inmates. The guard who makes the comments in the inmate's file is not necessarily the same guard who this researcher interviewed for the fourth row.

Tables 1-7 (See pages 201-207) are summaries of the assessments of the content areas: problem solving, social skills, negotiation skills, management of emotions, creative thinking, values enhancement, and critical reasoning. In each of the interviews, the majority of the prisoners seem to have a clear understanding of the main concepts taught in each content area. It is clear after reading the tables that in the majority of cases the teachers' and guards' assessments of the prisoners do not match the commentary provided by the researcher and the inmate. The records reflect the guards' and/or psychologists' interpretations of the inmate's behaviors.

Analysis of the critical incidents. The following section is an analysis of the "critical incidents" that indicate the level of understanding of the various components of the Cognitive Skills Training Program (problem-solving, social skills, negotiation skills, management of emotions, creative thinking, values enhancement, and critical reasoning) by the prisoners. The "critical incident" will be cited that indicates whether or not the prisoner comprehended the particular skill. The input from the teachers, correctional officers, and psychologists (from the inmate files) are discussed.

PRISONER #1: Problem-Solving **Critical Incident: Assaultive Behavior**

The inmate stated that finding housing after he is released will be a problem. He felt that he could solve the problem by being assertive "if someone doesn't give me what I want." He cited no other way to solve this problem. At the same time, the teachers and guards felt that he had no idea how to solve problems. "What does he want now?" was stated by the guard. After reviewing Prisoner #1's file, it was indicated that he had received two internal violations for assaultive behavior in the prison kitchen before and after the cognitive skills program. Therefore, we can conclude that the inmate did not grasp the meaning of problem-solving.

PRISONER #1: Social Skills **Critical incident: Aggressive Behavior**

The teacher in his class indicated that before and after he took the cognitive course the prisoner was talking out of turn in class each time the class met. "Kim, there is really nothing I can do to shut him up. He thinks he can get his way by talking out of turn and not listening. Social skills?! He has none!" The prisoner contends that he "consults and listens when a social situation is presented to me."

PRISONER #1: Negotiation Skills
Critical Incident: Confrontational Behavior

After checking the inmate's files, it was clear that aggressive behavior was part of his negotiation vocabulary. One psychologist cited an incident in which the prisoner was "unable to negotiate with others. While it was clear to me that the inmate would only have to deal with this new roommate for two days, the prisoner was completely closed to dealing with the situation for such a short time. Compromise is not a word in his vocabulary."

PRISONER #1: Management of Emotions
Critical Incident: Angry Behavior

After reviewing the inmate's files, it was clear that the entire staff was alerted to the angry behavior of this inmate several months before he took the cognitive skills class. "Alert bulletins" were issued while the class was being taken by the inmate. Two weeks after the inmate finished the course, he was warned to "remain calm during tense times" by the guard on duty. At the same time, a teacher alerted the prisoner to "watch your anger. You are angry too much of the time."

PRISONER #1: Creative Thinking
Critical Incident: Egocentric Behavior

After reviewing the inmate's file, it was clear that the inmate had engaged in egocentric behavior before, during and after the cognitive skills class. This behavior interfered with creative thinking. This demonstrated an inability on the part of the inmate to develop alternative views of his world and to conceptualize alternative ways of achieving his goals or solving his problems—all key to understanding and practicing creative thinking. In this case, the psychologist cited an incident in which the inmate was asked to try to see the therapist's point of view in the sex offender class. The prisoner refused, stating: "I am not interested in her ideas. Mine are what count here, don't you see?" Clearly, the inmate is impervious to new ideas—particularly others' people's ideas.

PRISONER #1: Values Enhancement
Critical Incident: Confrontational Behavior

One teacher was extremely annoyed that the prisoner still debated the issue of prostitution with her after the class was completed. "You would think, Kim, that he would see the idiocy behind prostitution after he took the values enhancement part of the course. But no, Kim, he just keeps telling us that it is morally O.K. for men in the group to go to his prostitutes." During the course, the teachers are instructed to take as many opportunities as possible to support and encourage the behavior and verbalizations of the participants which reflect *anti-criminal or pro-social behavior*. Moreover, teachers in the cognitive skills course are to respond to participants' pro-criminal or anti-social talk by questioning the inmates about the personal and social implications, and consequences of such positions. Clearly, this inmate has not grasped the importance of pro-social talk.

Prisoner #1: Critical Reasoning
Critical Incident: Intolerant Behavior

It was clear after talking to a guard that this inmate has never developed his critical reasoning skills. For example, the correctional officer recalled the time soon after the inmate completed the course when the prisoner refused to consider a statement because he felt it compromised his feeling on the issue. "Kim, he couldn't even see how certain types of people could be considered individuals. He just hit me with all these sweeping generalizations about white women, and I tell you, Kim, I felt bad for your kind." In another incident, a psychologist stated that "this inmate, so far as I can tell, never learned to be open-minded about anything, and I doubt that he will never change. I could talk to him all day about the benefit of chemical dependency counseling and he would just tell me he didn't have a drug problem."

PRISONER #2: Problem Solving
Critical Incident: Confrontational Behavior

A teacher noted that one in the COG class she reviewed the scenario in which the inmate is asked how he would deal with the problem if someone let the air out of his tires. The inmate replied, "There is only one way to deal with that. Get even." The teacher asked him to delineate the problem, and the inmate replied, "Why bother? There is only one way to deal with it, man, and that is to get even and fight. Just get 'em."

Needless to say, the student does not understand the importance of problem-solving in a *civil* manner.

PRISONER #2: Social Skills
Critical Incident: Antisocial Behavior

After reviewing the inmate's file, it was interesting to note that the inmate, even after having finished the cognitive skills class three weeks earlier, had displayed violent antisocial behavior in his cottage one evening. The inmate expressed a complaint to the guard on duty: "Why do we have to share a room with someone else?" The guard replied: "That is required. Go back to your room." The inmate replied: "Really? You think I am going to get along with that a—. I'm not interested in getting along with him. What are you going to do about it?" Finally, the guard had to file a complaint against the inmate filing his complaint! Many inmates lack the skills to interact positively with peers, guards or other authority figures. That is why the cognitive skills course is taught to prisoners.

PRISONER #2: Negotiating Skills
Critical Incident: Rebellious Behavior

One teacher stated: "Negotiating is not part of his vocabulary, as it isn't with many of the guys here. We teach them in class that part of negotiating is backing down from arguments. Well, can you see him doing that?"

PRISONER #2: Management of Emotions

Critical Incident: Provoking Behavior

A psychologist reported in his file that "He is out of control with dysphoria." A teacher agreed: "Yea, when — gets mad, sad, or whatever, he doesn't know how to keep a lid on it. He likes to antagonize people around him. It's like he wants to draw everyone else into his misery. Strange, huh, Kim?" In the cognitive skills class, the teacher is told to try to teach the student how to respond to interpersonal conflict in a manner which effectively prevents him from becoming emotionally aroused. Even though he had just completed the course one week earlier, the inmate, according to the psychologist and the teacher, could not maintain or reduce his level of arousal to a moderate level in emotionally provoking situations.

PRISONER #2: Creative Thinking

Critical Incident: Egocentric behavior

The emphasis throughout the course was to discourage egocentric thought by encouraging participants to appreciate that how they think about a situation may be very different than how other people think about the same situation. Throughout the use of the OPV, inmates are taught to consider other people's points of view. The psychologist cites in his file one month after the inmate has finished the course: "This prisoner has no consideration for what women think. He is highly likely to rape again upon release. His lack of empathy is clear as he talks to me about women in his life."

PRISONER #2: Values Enhancement

Critical Incident: Reprehensible Behavior

Refer to the critical incident cited in the previous situation. Again, the inmate does not value another human being. The psychologist writes that the inmate cannot respect his girlfriend. Rape is highly possible in the future.

PRISONER #2: Critical Reasoning

Critical Incident: Reprehensible Behavior

The teacher stated that he loves to manipulate others in the classroom. During the course, the prisoner boasted to her privately that a woman wants to be raped and so "his girlfriend had it coming when he was released." Respect for other points of view are also emphasized in the critical reasoning section. Obviously, respect for others was not part of the inmate's thinking pattern.

PRISONER #3: Problem Solving

Critical Incident: Confrontational Behavior

The psychologist cited one violent internal violation before the inmate took the cognitive skills class and one violent violation after he took the class. It seems the inmate likes to get into fights, stating to the guard: "Problems can be solved

with fists. That's the way to settle it, you know, man." Authors of the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program state in their literature that one goal of the cognitive skills training program is to teach inmates how to solve problems in a nonviolent manner.

PRISONER #3: Social Skills

Critical Incident: Nonaggressive Behavior

The teacher, guard, and psychologist stated that the inmate is a "role model in social skills." That is contradictory to the above citation regarding problem solving. In any event, the evidence indicates that the inmate is quite pro-social at times and quite anti-social at other times. The psychologist states in a positive manner: "He used to fight with inmates. Since the COG class, he has stopped aggressive behavior (for the last six months).

PRISONER #3: Negotiating Skills

Critical Incident: Combative Behavior

The psychologist stated in the inmate's file: "He does not like to look at options. He will fight verbally with you if he does not get his way." The examiner continued to cite a story: "One day, — came to my office and stated in an aggressive manner that he wasn't going to attend chemical dependency class any longer. I informed him that it would be in his best interest to continue with the class, but he insisted in a brusque manner that this was it." Here, the inmate was confronting the person rather than the problem.

PRISONER #3: Management of Emotions

Critical Incident: Angry Behavior

The psychologist noted in the inmate's file one week after he completed the cognitive skills class that staff should "Keep an eye on his behavior in the cottage."

PRISONER #3: Creative Thinking

Critical Incident: Positive Behavior

The teacher stated that this inmate serves as a tutor and is quite capable of teaching creative thinking skills in a positive manner to the other inmates. The guard indicated that he was not a problem in this area.

PRISONER #3: Values Enhancement

Critical Incident: Contradictory Behavior

Although this inmate serves as a good tutor in this area, according to the teacher, the psychologist notes that the inmate ".....insists on believing that he has the right to possess a gun in the prison." The instructors in the cognitive skills class teach the importance of honoring life. Contradictory behavior appears to be at work here.

PRISONER #3: Critical Reasoning

Critical Incident: Positive Behavior

The teacher indicated that since he had completed the course, the inmate viewed critical reasoning in a much more positive light. In fact, the teacher reflected on an incident in which the inmate, as a tutor, informed another student/inmate: "Now remember, critical reasoning can make the difference for us. If we use sound judgment (as is taught in the course), we'll be able to function better in society."

PRISONER #4: Problem Solving

Critical Incident: Menacing Behavior

Although this inmate is quiet by nature, according to the teacher and the guard, the psychologist noted that the inmate needed to "take time out every few months and be put in solitary confinement." This inmate had no desire to face problems. His behavior was menacing because he appeared to be quiet and obedient, but he was a volcano underneath. This was apparent when this researcher interviewed him. Though quiet during most of the interview, he also would blurt out some answers in a very accusatory, defensive manner: "You know sometimes, Kim, I just don't know how to define the problem. It just isn't clear. But, that is O.K., isn't it? I mean, I don't *have* to respond, do I?"

PRISONER #4: Social Skills

Critical Incident: Repressive Behavior

As mentioned above, this inmate repressed his feelings most of the time. Hence, had a difficult time responding to failure in a positive, pro-social manner. His teacher remembered the time once in class when he became extremely agitated with himself because he was not understanding the material presented in the session.

PRISONER #4: Negotiation Skills

Critical Incident: Confused Behavior

During the interview, this researcher noticed that the inmate was totally confused about the nature of the questions that related to negotiation skills. The inmate even admitted this point. Further, the psychologist indicated in his file that "this inmate is a total failure at negotiating anything with his family."

PRISONER #4: Management of Emotions

Critical Incident: Closed Behavior

This inmate closed down when he was angry. The prisoner admitted it and the psychologist wrote in his file: "Inmate fails to talk when he is angry. In fact, it seems the student shuts himself down." In the "Management of Emotions" section in the course, the inmates were taught that importance of first identifying the source of the anger and then expressing the feelings in a positive manner. How can one learn to deal with anger in an effective manner if one cannot even accept the anger?

PRISONER #4: Creative Thinking
Critical Incident: Irrational Behavior

The psychologist mentioned in the inmate's file that the prisoner exhibited irrational behavior. Even though the inmates were taught to view matters in a plus, minus, and interesting ways, this inmate irrationally chose to view some sexual thoughts in a positive light, when in fact a woman's life was at stake if the sexual fantasy were fulfilled by the prisoner.

PRISONER #4: Values Enhancement
Critical Incident: Disrespectful Behavior

The psychologist noted in his writing that the inmate had no concept of the physical and psychological danger he would be placing his family in if he carried out some of his disrespectful behavior. The inmate's value judgements were irrational.

PRISONER #4: Critical Reasoning
Critical Incident: Antisocial Behavior

The inmate, according to the psychologist, assumed that his family wanted certain antisocial behavior to continue. The psychologist wrote: "This inmate does not detect errors in his own thinking. He is not capable of sound judgment with regard to the matter at hand."

PRISONER #5: Problem Solving
Critical Incident: Model Behavior

According to the teacher, this inmate was a model student and model inmate. "He is the best student we have. He knows how to recognize problems and he can solve them in a non-confrontational manner quickly." At the same time, the guard agreed with that statement.

PRISONER #5: Social Skills
Critical Incident: Prosocial Behavior

The teacher stated that "He just bounces right back even if he encounters a minor failure." At the same time, the guard stated: "He is no problem in this area. He is a prosocial kind of guy."

PRISONER #5: Negotiating Skills
Critical Incident: "No-lose" Behavior

The guard stated that "He is the great negotiator around here. I remember one day when a fight broke out in the hallway and ——— stated that it was time for everybody to share a laugh and not a fight!" The psychologist reported no internal violations the entire time this man has been incarcerated.

PRISONER #5: Management of Emotions

Critical Incident: Cooperative Behavior

Teachers, a guard, and a staff psychologist reported no negative incidences in that area. This researcher noticed that the inmate was extremely cooperative during the interview. In fact, this interviewer remembered how sincere the inmate appeared to be during the entire time.

PRISONER #5: Creative Thinking

Critical Incident: Nonstressful Behavior

The psychologist noted in the inmate's file that the inmate seemed to lead a nonstressful life in the prison. When faced with change in his environment, "this guy has an ability to change his thinking and he never seems overwhelmed by anyone or anything."

PRISONER #5: Values Enhancement

Critical Incident: Antisocial Behavior

The psychologist reflected on an incident when the inmate, before his last conviction, injured someone very seriously. This was clearly antisocial, amoral behavior. No one could verify if the inmate had expressed remorse at the time.

PRISONER #5: Critical Reasoning

Critical Incident: Closed Behavior

The psychologist reflected in his writing that the inmate, soon after his conviction, expressed little remorse over the crime. Since that time, the prisoner has expressed the importance of dropping assumptions. "Kim, I think it is important to not assume anything about anybody. Otherwise, that may lead to unnecessary conflict." It was not clear after reviewing the material whether or not this inmate was actually open to other points of view.

PRISONER #6: Problem Solving

Critical Incident: Manipulative Behavior

The guard recalled an incident one week after the inmate completed the cognitive skills class in which the inmate blocked the hallway every time a woman walked down it. "He wasn't very nice about it, either. He was very manipulative, if you ask me. I don't think he likes himself very much. He always wants something from somebody." Clearly, manipulation is not part of effective problem solving.

PRISONER #6: Social Skills

Critical Incident: "No Means Yes" Behavior

The psychologist related an incident before the inmate's last arrest in which the prisoner clearly did not understand the meaning of "No" in rape situation. Three years later in the cognitive skills class, the inmate was still in denial about the crime, according to the teacher.

PRISONER #6: Negotiation Skills

Critical Incident: Retreating Behavior

The teacher stated that the inmate would leave the room in a panic when he felt there was no option. The guard agreed that the guy was incapable of negotiating anything. Retreating represented maladaptive response which was likely to create problems, rather than solve them.

PRISONER #6: Management of Emotions

Critical Incident: Angry Behavior

The guard stated that "I would love it if the guy would control his anger just once in the cottage. I don't think he knows how to calm down, ever. Didn't the course teach them guys how to deal with anger?" These strong feelings of anger might interfere with the individual's application of cognitive skills.

PRISONER #6: Creative Thinking

Critical Incident: Egocentric Behavior

The psychologist reflected in the file that "There is a strong possibility of a future rape because this inmate doesn't recognize other people's wishes." Ross, Fabiano, and Ross state in the coursebook that offenders ~~who~~ persist in repeating anti-social acts in spite of repeated punishment and little reward may not only be risk-taking; their behavior may actually reflect a basic cognitive deficit-an inability to develop alternative views of their world and to conceptualize alternative ways of achieving the goals or solving problems.

PRISONER #6: Values Enhancement

Critical Incident: Sexist Behavior

The teacher reflected upon an incident in class three weeks before the term ended in which the inmate stated that women are toys. Previous to that announcement, there had been a discussion in class involving a scenario from the cognitive skills program that pointed out that women are multi-talented beings. This inmate refused to listen to the other side of the issue.

PRISONER #6: Critical Reasoning

Critical Incident: Closed Behavior

The psychologist reflected on a conversation in which the inmate stated: "I don't care what you say, doc, the woman always asks for it. She has it comin', man." Learning to detect errors in their own thinking and that of others which can lead to wrong conclusions was crucial to development of critical thinking skills.

PRISONER #7: Problem Solving

Critical Incident: Manipulative Behavior

The psychologist reflected on one violent internal violation before the Cognitive Skills Program and one violent internal violation after completion of the course. No details of the event were cited in the file. At the same time, the guard

told of an incident in which the inmate fought with two other inmates in the hallway of the school prison. "It's a power trip for him. Problem-solving! What is that to him? It's time for the fist!"

PRISONER #7: Social Skills

Critical Incident: Manipulative Behavior

The teacher and the guard, during the same week, called the inmate "The Con Man". The guard reflected on the same example cited in the last paragraph. The ability to interact in social situations in such a way that one gained acceptance and reinforcement required that the offender develop an adequate repertoire of thinking and social skills.

PRISONER #7: Negotiation Skills

Critical Incident: Closed Behavior

The psychologist reflected upon a conversation he had with the offender in which he tried to convince him to enroll in a sex offender program. The inmate refused, not even attempting to listen to the counselor. Such lack of negotiating skills would hamper the prisoner's ability to function well in society.

PRISONER #7: Management of Emotions

Critical Incident: Angry Behavior

The psychologist wrote in his file: "This inmate must be monitored while in this prison to ensure the safety of others. When his anger gets out of control, and it does often, we must take care to remedy this situation as soon as possible."

PRISONER #7: Creative Thinking

Critical Incident: Commitmentphobic Behavior

The psychologist reflected on the inmate's failure to deal effectively with long-term intimate relationships. In the creative thinking sessions, the inmates were taught that alternative thinking needs to be applied not only to ideas or actions, but also to explanations. It was tempting to simply accept the first explanation that we hear or arrive at ourselves, but it might not be the correct explanation or the best we could discover if we considered alternatives. The psychologist wrote on the margin: "If he just would listen to the woman's reasoning instead of racing to his own conclusions and then deserting the situation..."

PRISONER #7: Values Enhancement

Critical Incident: Aggressive Behavior

The guard indicated that the inmate had no idea how to settle arguments in a civil manner. "He turns almost every argument into a physical fight." The teacher stated: "He has no ability to argue." At the same time, the psychologist reflected in his notes: "Five of his last felony convictions involved physical fights. One time, he just decided to give it to her in his house because she wouldn't listen to him." In the values enhancement sessions the inmates were taught about the consequences of various actions that reflect immoral behavior. Aggressive behavior,

especially involving physical violence, was abhorred in the class.

PRISONER #7: Critical Thinking
Critical Incident: Egocentric Behavior

The psychologist reflected in the inmate's file that the prisoner's insistence that it was proper to steal the property was dismissed as egocentric behavior on the part of the therapist. A sound judgement was not being made by the inmate. He needed to retake the critical reasoning portion of the course.

PRISONER #8: Problem Solving
Critical Incident: Combative Behavior

The psychologist reflected that the inmate had committed two internal violations one week before the cognitive skills class and two internal violations three weeks after the cognitive skills class. Problem solving was not part of the offender's vocabulary at this time.

PRISONER #8: Social Skills
Critical Incident: Manipulative Behavior

The psychologist stated in the inmate's file that:

"We need to keep an eye on him due to his poor social skills. Every time he gets a new job he blows it down here." The teacher and the guard agreed that this inmate was very manipulative every time he gets a new job at the prison. They did not reflect on any particular incidents.

PRISONER #8: Negotiation Skills
Critical Incident: Avoidance Behavior

During one conversation the psychologist urged the inmate to join a chemical dependency group. The offender had already quit one group twice. When confronted with a choice, the inmate, according to the psychologist, "opted out. When pressed with choices, he often chose none of them." Avoidance behavior was not effective negotiation.

PRISONER #8: Management of Emotions
Critical Incident: Angry Behavior

It was clear from reviewing the inmate's file that his anger was often out of control. One counselor wrote: "I had him in my office one day and he must have misinterpreted what I said. Well, let's watch him because he doesn't calm down." Offenders have had a hard time dealing with anger. Therefore, much time was spent working on this emotion in the cognitive skills class.

PRISONER #8: Creative Thinking
Critical Incident: Confused Behavior

No clear commentary was available to cite any critical incidents in this area. However, it did appear that the inmate was not very clear about creative thinking was, nor was he clear on how to apply it. The offender commented to this re-

searcher: "I really don't remember that part of the course. It must not have been too important then."

PRISONER #8: Values EnhancementT

Critical Incident: "No Means Yes" Behavior

The counselor wrote of one incident in the offender's file in which the inmate clearly did not understand it when a woman said "No" to sex. "Could it be that offenders in general just don't understand the meaning of "No"? What kind of values were at play here?"

PRISONER #8: Critical Reasoning

Critical Incident: Closed Behavior

The psychologist wrote in the margin that the inmate had always had a hard time understanding a woman's viewpoint when it comes to sex. "His girlfriend says she is not interested in sex, and he just violates her. He is in denial of his behavior." The entry was written three weeks after the inmate had completed the cognitive skills course.

PRISONER #9: Problem Solving

Critical Incident: Cooperative Behavior

The psychologist, teacher, and guard pointed out that this inmate was discipline free before, during, and after he took the cognitive skills course. "He knows how to handle problems well on a day-to-day basis," stated the teacher. "There was no need to even recite an incident for you," she said. In fact, no incidents were stated in the inmate's file that can be related to problem solving techniques.

PRISONER #9: Social Skills

Critical Incident: Cooperative Behavior

The teacher stated: "He had the most impressive responses to all the scenarios we presented him in class. Everyday he would be able to prove to us that he can really understand the importance of acquiring social skills. Outside the class, even before he took the program, he was always cooperative and he stayed out of trouble."

PRISONER #9: Negotiation Skills

Critical Incident: Open-Minded Behavior

The inmate reported to the researcher: "Kim, I learned right away in that class that it is important to write down options and then pick the one that helps everybody out. I really do this in the lunchroom now too. One day there wasn't even any fruit for us guys. Well, that didn't matter 'cause my option was to smile."

PRISONER #9: Management of Emotions

Critical Incident: Calm Behavior

The psychologist reflected that before he took the class, he would fly off the handle easily. Now, "with each interview, he was calmer. He kept remarking to

me that this class made a difference."

PRISONER #9: Creative Thinking
Critical Incident: Cooperative Behavior

The counselor reflected on an incident two weeks after the inmate completed the course: "He was all excited to use the materials he had learned. He kept mentioning this class. I wasn't sure what he meant, but it was clear he was happy. He has learned to work with others over long periods of time. That is what he says. We will watch and see."

PRISONER #9: Values Enhancement
Critical Incident: Argumentative Behavior

A guard stated that he debated just to debate: "You know, it's funny, but he really likes to argue with me on the big issues. Problem is, he doesn't always see the other side of the issue. Like the other day when we were talking about capital punishment. He just didn't want to hear that some of us think death is the answer for the really bad ones."

PRISONER #9: Critical Reasoning
Critical Incident: Sensitive Behavior

In the past, he was convicted of larceny. Since then, the teacher says he has had regrets. The guard stated he really showed a sensitive side a few days after he completed the course. "I was happy to see him share some of the books he had. I don't think he would have done that too long ago. He is changing."

PRISONER #10: Problem Solving
Critical Incident: Combative Behavior

The psychologist cited three violent internal violations before the cognitive skills class and three violent internal violations after the class. "Problem solving is not a strength with him," stated the teacher one week after the course was completed.

PRISONER #10: Social Skills
Critical Incident: Egocentric Behavior

This researcher felt that the answers the inmate gave in this area were so irrational that she wondered if he wasn't mentally ill. For example, the inmate stated to the researcher: "I live for demands. People have a right to demand everything and then to get it too. Like women. They are here for us men. I won't even tell you why. Like skies too. You know?"

PRISONER #10: Negotiation Skills
Critical Incident: Confused Behavior

The psychologist stated in the file that he inmate was unable to reason in a rational manner. No incidents were cited. The teacher and the guard stated he just drifted around in a confused state. He never really dealt with negotiation skills.

PRISONER #10: Management of Emotions

Critical Incident: Angry Behavior

The teacher recalled one incident during the class when the inmate was asked to calm down because he was being so disruptive in class. The offender responded that he knew he could control his anger. He then proceeded to throw a chair across the room. Security had to be called in to restrain him.

PRISONER #10: Creative Thinking

Critical Incident: Insensitive Behavior

The psychologist stated in the file that this sex offender did not realize needs and feelings of other women. "He will not hesitate to pursue a woman if he feels the urge. One night he stalked a woman just because he felt lonely. She reacted by calling the police. The offender appeared to be surprised when he was arrested."

PRISONER #10: Values Enhancement

Critical Incident: Insensitive Behavior

The information relayed in the last paragraph was relevant to the values enhancement section. As a sex offender who is in denial of his crime, he placed little value on the thinking and feelings of women.

PRISONER #10: Critical Reasoning

Critical Incident: Manipulative Behavior

The guard called him a con man. The psychologist recalled an incident in which this inmate conned women to become prostitutes for his business. "He likes to sweet talk them and pretty soon they are out there walking the streets for him and he sits back and laughs. He likes to tell me he gets a kick out of yelling at them too."

Table 1: Summary of Assessment of Problem Solving

	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3	Subject 4	Subject 5	Subject 6	Subject 7	Subject 8	Subject 9	Subject 10
Prisoner's Assessment	I overcome it by addressing problem.	I try to think before I act.	I listen to all views.	Awareness of problem is important.	Brainstorming is a great way to solve problems.	My best choice is my instinct.	I figure things out on my own.	It is important to be positive.	All Problems have solutions.	Solve problem by deciding on best choice.
Researcher's Assessment	He is aware of importance of noticing problem.	He realizes importance of thinking.	He is aware of importance of looking at all sides.	He is aware of power of seeking alternatives.	He is very aware of problem solving techniques.	He is not grasping points. He is manipulative.	He knows problem-solving techniques help, but he appears manipulative.	He realizes importance of problem-solving techniques.	He has very clear vision of problem-solving techniques.	He realizes importance of looking at consequences.
Teacher	He is hopeless.	He is too aggressive in class.	He teaches problem solving techniques in COG class.	What does he think? He is too quiet.	He is the best student we have.	He won't participate in sex offender program to solve sex problems.	He never wants to talk in class. He argues with inmates at break.	He goes to chem dep but fights everything we tell him.	Works well in the wood class. Has never been a problem.	He has frequent emotional outbursts in class. He cannot solve problems presented to him.
Guard	What does inmate want now?	He keeps to himself.	He has been starting fights with inmates. He creates problems.	I don't know how he solves anything.	He is a model inmate.	He blocks the hallway when you come down the hallway.	It's a power trip for him when he fights.	He's got a big mouth. Thinks he has all the answers.	He has a quiet, cooperative attitude.	He likes fights.
Record	2 internal violations before and after COG.	No internal violations; 3 warnings after COG.	One internal violation before COG and one after COG.	No internal violations but needs to be put in seg every few months.	No internal violations.	Two internal violations since COG.	One internal violation before COG; one after COG.	Two internal violations before COG; 2 after COG.	Discipline free.	Three internal violations before COG and three internal violations after COG.

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Table 2: Summary of Assessment of Social Skills

	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3	Subject 4	Subject 5	Subject 6	Subject 7	Subject 8	Subject 9	Subject 10
Prisoner's Assessment	I consult and listen.	I accept failure well.	I ask for what I want.	I am learning to ask and not complain.	I just tell 'em straight up what my complaint is.	I didn't want help before COG.	If at first you don't succeed....	I will be there for you.	I take responsibility for my own failures.	I go to the authorities when I can't get along with somebody.
Researcher's Assessment	He appears to understand social skills.	He has good understanding of social skills.	He seems to enjoy teaching a group about social skills.	He realizes importance of COG in this area.	He views failure as a minor setback.	He knows the importance of learning social skills.	I think he says what I want to hear.	He says all the right words.	He answered all questions in a sophisticated manner.	His answers are so irrational that I wonder if he isn't mentally ill.
Teacher	He always talks out of turn.	He likes to yell at us when he fails or has a complaint.	Role model in social skills.	He gets angry when he fails.	He jumps right back after a failure.	He is still in denial and he will not ask for help.	He is the con man.	Can we move him out?	He wants to get along with us.	He can't function very well in here. He always makes demands.
Guard	What a pain this guy is.	Lock 'em up when he fails at task.	I think he is great in social skills area.	He is so quiet all the time.	No problems in that area.	I don't know.	Yes, Mr. Con.	He is Mr. Persuasion.	No problem here with this area.	He doesn't comprehend much in this area. He complains but won't follow through when he's confronted.
Record	Very aggressive with staff.	Yells when the is upset about complaints.	He used to fight with inmates. Since COG he has stopped aggressive behavior.	He expresses feelings of failure.	Flow role model in socialization.	Doesn't understand the concept of "No" re: rape report.	Dropped all courses.	Keep an eye on his lack of social skills.	No problems indicated in social skills area.	Egocentric

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Table 3: Summary of Negotiation Skills

	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3	Subject 4	Subject 5	Subject 6	Subject 7	Subject 8	Subject 9	Subject 10
Prisoner's Assessment	I identify and clarify problem.	I will explain how will I plan to negotiate with you.	Communication is so important in this process.	I am confused here.	It is important to review options in any situation.	I will avoid it and walk away.	I always try in this area.	I talk and then walk away if I still can't get along.	I cannot keep thinking that I am always right.	I will find out what is going on and I will do what I need to do.
Researcher's Assessment	He knows how to identify options.	He realizes importance of seeing options. His comment in last column was not stated in arrogant manner.	He realizes power of negotiating.	He is confused about the whole set of questions.	He realizes importance of looking at options.	He did not comprehend this section.	He does say that he tries but no evidence given.	Walking away from the situation indicates an unwillingness to face options and consequences.	He learned in the COG class to write down options.	He cannot grasp the concept of "option".
Teacher	No, there is only his options.	Negotiating is not part of his vocabulary.	He negotiates with others in a great way.	No comment.	He is on top of this!	He knows the room in a panic when he feels there is no option.	He can't do any negotiating.	He avoids negotiating.	He utilizes negotiation skills in class.	He is not with us.
Guard	He can't clarify anything.	This tutor does not know how to negotiate.	This tutor knows how to negotiate.	I don't know him well enough to answer.	He is the great negotiator around here.	He is incapable of negotiating anything.	He's a pain.	He avoids the consequences of his actions.	He accepts mistakes and writes down options.	Who is this guy when it comes to this topic?
Record	Very confrontational; unable to negotiate with others.	He doesn't like to look at options.	He does not like to look at options.	He is a total failure at negotiating anything with his family.	No internal violations in years as he realizes consequences.	Some wording on file, as guard wrote the entry on warning.	He won't enroll in sex offender program.	When pleased with choices, he often chooses none of them.	He has made remarkable progress in his negotiation skills.	He is unable to reason in a rational manner.

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Table 4: Summary of Management of Emotions

	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3	Subject 4	Subject 5	Subject 6	Subject 7	Subject 8	Subject 9	Subject 10
Prisoner's Assessment	I recognize anger after taking COG.	Role play in COG helped me with my anger.	Sometimes it is best to go off by myself and calm down	I just shut down when I am angry. In fact, I don't like showing any emotions.	I am sensitive to door slams. That makes me angry.	You have to see anger in yourself.	COG helped me to recognize my anger signs.	I will avoid it all costs. I try and try, you know?	Emotions of any kind are tough for me to deal with.	I recognize my anger due to COG.
Researcher's Assessment	He clearly recognized need to drop anger.	He wants to drop his anger at women.	He tries to get a handle on his anger.	There is clear denial of the problem.	He is trying hard to deal with flashbacks caused by door slams.	He struggles with anger and wants to control it.	He sees anger in himself and asks me how to stop it.	The inmate was in denial of anger. This makes treatment difficult.	He has worked hard on emotions and he clearly lacks in major affective reactions.	He knows the signs of anger.
Teacher	He is angry and very disruptive.	He cannot control his anger in the class.	By and large, he is much calmer than before COG.	He is very quiet so there seems to be no problem.	Very cooperative.	Too angry he beats himself up.	I don't want him in my class due to his anger levels at times.	He has go a huge temper.	He used to fly off the handle. Now he is dull.	He cannot control his anger.
Guard	He is too angry most of the time.	He is a feisty guy.	He is still a smart-	He is so quiet and I think it happens when he is upset.	No problem	I would love it if the guy would control his anger in the cottage just once.	He is not quiet when he is angry.	He is the wild man.	No problem	I have had to calm him down a few times here in the hall.
Record	Watch his anger and hostility.	He is out of control with dysphoria.	Keep an eye on his anger in the cottage.	He has a definite problem with anger. He becomes closed.	No problem cited.	His anger is so out of control. Two recent internal violations.	His anger must be monitored to ensure safety of others.	His anger needs to be watched as it is out of control.	With each interview, he is calmer.	His anger is out of control. He denies need for therapy.

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Table 5: Summary of Creative Thinking

	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3	Subject 4	Subject 5	Subject 6	Subject 7	Subject 8	Subject 9	Subject 10
Prisoner's Assessment	I know I need all of these all the time.	COG helped me to see importance of OPV.	It is so important to look at all the factors.	COG taught me to stay motivated in these areas.	I am used to using all of them since taking COG.	All relate to OPV.	I am confused all the time.	I don't understand this part.	Insight tutor helped me in all areas.	Unaware of all but the CAF.
Researcher's Assessment	He understands all the concepts very well.	He showed good insight in all areas.	He knows all the concepts well.	He uses PMI for sexual fantasies.	He used C & S to quit smoking here.	He claims he does all areas on a daily basis.	He is confused on all aspects.	He was not able to comprehend the material.	He feels Insight made an important impact in this area and reinforced learning.	Unable to grasp the concepts.
Teacher	OPV-no	C&S-very defensive	He teaches the concepts to other inmates. He is knowledgeable.	Is unable to see any of these things.	He is a tutor for the entire COG, but he excels in this chapter.	He lacks in all areas.	He does not have empathy.	His short term goals are a priority with him.	Vast improvement in this area since COG. I think of his APC.	He is not capable of understanding the ideas.
Guard	?	No problem	No problem	OPV is fake.	No problems	OPV is not part of his vocabulary.	APC is definitely lacking.	OPV is lacking in this guy.	No problem	He is not too swift in this area of learning.
Record	Egocentric behavior	Likely to repeat rape when re	Thinks in terms of short-term gains.	Unable to reason rationally.	No problems found in the base file.	Possible future rape as he doesn't recognize others' wishes.	He exhibits failure to deal well with long term relationship with daughters.	No relevant commentary.	He has learned to work with others over a long period of time.	Sex offender who doesn't realize needs and feelings of other women.

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Table 6: Summary of Values Enhancement

	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3	Subject 4	Subject 5	Subject 6	Subject 7	Subject 8	Subject 9	Subject 10
Prisoner's Assessment	Why bother with this?	I will compromise and reflect.	I see both sides of issues and that is good.	I reflect more on issues now than I took COG.	One must be objective on both sides.	I value women more now because of these topics.	Reflection is very important to life.	It's important to talk about all sides of issues.	It is important to see woman's view.	I will try, but what for?
Researcher's Assessment	He cannot see significance of lessons.	He sees the importance of reflection and compromise.	He is able to see the significance of seeing both sides of issue.	He is trying hard to see both sides of issues.	He sees the importance of discussion without rage.	He believes women are great toys.	He cannot see importance of both sides.	He recognizes value of debate.	He cannot see significance of content area.	He can't see significance of topics.
Teacher	He will debate anything just to talk to you.	He really tries to reflect and not just react.	He is teaching this part well to the other inmates in COG class.	He does address moral issues in a non-threatening way.	This tutor is capable of teaching this material.	He is unable to see both sides of most issues.	Has no ability to argue.	He can debate well in class.	He cannot get the ideas.	He can't get the ideas.
Guard	I am tired of his morality.	I don't know.	He is a great debater.	Very respectful of others.	He reflects on contemporary issues with me in reasonable manner.	He argue just to argue.	He turns arguments into physical fights.	He likes to talk.	He argues just to argue.	He argues but cannot speak well.
Record	Four internal violations due to moral misjudgments.	He cannot respect his girlfriend. Rape is possible in future.	He strongly believes he has a right to possess a gun.	He has no concept of how crimes affect his two kids.	He committed a murder.	Sex offense.	Five felonies involving fights.	Sex offense. He can't understand "No."	Sex offense.	Sex offense.

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Table 7: Summary of Critical Reasoning

	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3	Subject 4	Subject 5	Subject 6	Subject 7	Subject 8	Subject 9	Subject 10
Prisoner's Assessment	This is the best part of COG.	No one cons me.	I am willing to be open-minded.	I am glad that I detect cons better.	I have learned to drop assumptions.	I realize the importance of being open.	I am open minded all the time.	I am open to learning new experiences.	I should always check your assumptions.	Honesty is important; don't let me con you.
Researcher's Assessment	He has no concept of lessons.	He is obsessed with manipulating others.	He is very aware of all issues in lessons.	He is very street wise in this topic.	He cited excellent examples.	He never detects errors in thinking.	He won't open his mind about other people's rights.	He does not understand the importance of being open-minded.	He is sensitive to others.	He grasps all the ideas.
Teacher	He will tell you anything in this area.	He loves to manipulate others.	He is a great tutor in this area.	He is open-minded in the class.	Great tutor in critical reasoning.	He cannot grasp the details.	He cannot grasp the ideas.	He loves to discuss CR.	He is a great tutor in this area.	He likes to play victim and assume we are against him.
Guard	He is not open-minded.	He's a con.	He is on the mark on this topic.	No problem	No problem	He must close his mind when he comes to school.	He assumes everything.	He seems more open since he took COG.	He stops people when they try to assume anything.	He is a con man.
Record	He is unable to be open to other views.	He was convicted of rape, thinking that woman wanted him.	He assumes that his term is up soon.	He assumes that the children want sex with him.	Crime shows no openminded thinking: all police must die.	Sex offense; he assumes woman wanted sex.	He feels it is OK to take property.	Sex offense; he thinks she wanted sex.	He is a check forger; a con artist.	Sex offense; he cons women to pimp for him.

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Discussion. This section describes the results of the study as they relate to the questions posed in Chapter 1.

Did inmates understand information in the cognitive skills class?

There was strong evidence that the inmates did comprehend the information that was taught to them in the Cognitive Skills course. In fact, so many of the inmates were able to answer the questions by citing appropriate examples that this researcher started wondering if the inmates were just telling her what she wanted to hear. After all, all of the inmates in the study were sociopathic or were judged to have sociopathic tendencies and so manipulating the situation was part of the game for them. It was possible, however, that the majority of the inmates did understand the information. The following examples were cited: "There is a choice in everything we do in life", "I can catch myself getting angry and I know I better stop and think before I shoot or hit someone", "The class made me realize the importance of taking time out when I get angry", "Now I know both sides of the issue and I make sure I know them before I argue with someone", "The class made me realize how angry I would get and how out of control I used to get", "Other people have feelings too", "My side isn't always the only way-I'm learning that it is important to listen to the other guy", "How do I stay away from what put me in here?" and "There is no need for any anger in this world". This researcher got the impression something powerful and positive was being learned in those cognitive skills classes.

Did the inmate's behavior improve after taking the COG class?

After this researcher completed the interview with the inmate, the author wanted to know if the behaviors exhibited by the inmate in the prison improved, remained the same, or declined. To find these answers, this researcher located the base files of each inmate and viewed the discipline records. If the inmate received any internal violations before he took the class, this was indicated in the inmate's record. If the inmate received any internal violations one month after he took the class, this was indicated in the inmate's record. The researcher then returned to the Research Questions and was able to link effect of participation in the COG class and behavior. By viewing the meta-matrix, we can see that in the majority of cases the inmates performed well in the classroom and stayed out of trouble in the prison. Three inmates had received no internal violations before or after taking the class. Two of those three inmates also performed well in the class. One inmate (Prisoner #8) assimilated most of the information in class. Previous to the class, he had been convicted of four internal violations. Since Prisoner #8 took the class, he has received no internal violations. Did the number of internal violations drop due to the class? This researcher would like to think so.

Did the COG class aid the inmate?

Four teachers in the Education Department who have taught the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program were asked if the inmates gained anything from tak-

ing the class. Their comments regarding particular prisoners appear on the meta-matrix. The researcher believes that all four teachers believe in the cognitive skills program. Here are some additional comments from the instructors:

"This program has made a difference around here. Some of the guys listen to instructions much better and that makes it much more tolerable in the class."

"The cognitive class allows the sex offender to see that there are different ways of looking at things. Whether or not the guys realize that they hurt people when they committed the crime is another story, but at least the class allows them to start to get in touch with their own feelings. That is a blessing to me."

"The guys like the class and it makes it fun for me to teach them. Remember, Kim, that you have to watch them, though. They will tell you what you want to hear. Does that mean they learned anything in class? In some cases, yes."

"Now that the guys are learning how to cooperate in here from the lessons they have learned, it is time to teach all the other administrators too. I bet that would make a big improvement around here in morale."

In summary, this researcher believes that the teachers believe that the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program is definitely a positive class for the inmates.

Did the inmate's behavior change over time?

This researcher talked with two guards at the prison regarding the question. These guards were very familiar with the inmates in the cognitive skills class. This researcher spent many hours standing in the hallways and in the classrooms and libraries (law and general) where the correctional officers would interact with the prisoners. This author asked two officers who were somewhat aware of the cognitive skills class. Their comments on the individual inmates appear on the meta-matrix. In addition, the following comments by the officers are included:

"Most of these guys will never change. You can't tell me that a class will help them. Nothing will. If I see something, I will write it up. That is my job. I would like to think that something will help. Oh, there exceptions. Prisoners #2,3,4, and 9 are model inmates in my mind. They don't bother anyone. That makes my job easier. I think those guys I just mentioned have mellowed out around here. I'd say they all did this since taking that class you were talking about. Yea, that's the class."

"Well, I am all for classes that calm those guys down. I would say it has helped them to a degree. Then again, maybe they are just conning us all. What do you think?"

This researcher believed that the level of awareness that the correctional officers have of the cognitive skills class is limited since the gentlemen have not taken the class. However, they do converse with the teachers and this researcher from time to time, so a limited level of awareness is developing.

Summary

No significant findings were found. The following reasons were cited by this researcher:

- All the inmates in the study were sociopaths or were judged to have sociopathic tendencies. Can we trust the information given by those inmates?
- There was no clear connection between skills learned in the cognitive skills class and the behavior cited in the inmates' base files.
- The teachers may have been overly optimistic about the merits of the program.
- The inmates may have been overly optimistic about the merits of the program.
- The guards lack basic awareness about what the class is all about.
- The time frame of the study was very short.

Chapter V

Summary and Conclusions

The following discussion of the literature is in three parts. The first section describes the summary of the focus (questions). The second section describes the methodology. The third section describes the findings by question.

Summary of the Focus

The following research questions were developed to guide the study:

1. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' problem solving behavior?
2. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' social skills?
3. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' negotiation skills?
4. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' management of emotions?
5. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' creative thinking as it affects behavior?
6. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' moral values?
7. What is the effect of participation in cognitive skills class on the inmates' critical reasoning behavior?

The research questions above were based on the skills taught in the cognitive skills class: problem-solving, social skills, negotiation skills, management of emotions, creative thinking, values (morals) enhancement and critical reasoning. It is important to observe an inmate's behavior before and after he has completed the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program. Is he applying the skills he learned in his everyday life? Vocational education is of little value to the prisoner if that individual is unable to cope with the normal stressors of everyday life.

Methodology

A cross-case study methodology was selected as the most appropriate strategy to address the questions raised by the study. Glaser and Straus (1967, 1970) argued for using "multiple comparison groups" to find out "under what sets of structural conditions [the] hypotheses are minimized and maximized." (p.288).

The researcher can calculate where a given order of events or incidents is most likely to occur or not occur." (p.288). Multiple cases can also help the researcher find negative cases to strengthen a theory, built through examination of similarities and differences across cases. That process, they suggested, is much quicker and easier with multiple cases than with a single case. Multiple cases not only pin down the specific conditions under which a finding will occur but also help us form the more general categories of how those conditions may be related (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 1970).

As Silverstein (1988) puts it, we are faced with the tension between the particular and the universal: reconciling an individual case's uniqueness with the need for more general understanding of generic processes that occur across cases. That uniqueness, he suggests, resides in the individual's developmental history over time—but "encapsulated within the general principles that influence its development." (p.425). Noblit and Hare (1983), in considering cross-case work, suggest that it "must have a theory of social explanation that both preserves uniqueness and entails comparison." (p. 425). In their more recent work (1988) they also emphasize that aggregating or averaging results across cases is bound to lead to misinterpretation or superficiality.

The critical incident technique was incorporated in this design. Borg & Gall (1989) mention that this technique was developed by John Flanagan. The process involves studying the performance of one group of individuals by asking another group of individuals to describe "critical incidents" that relate to the performance of the first group. The researcher used interviews to obtain from the guards' and the teachers' descriptions of the inmate's specific behavior patterns that are considered to be critical to the skills being studied in the cognitive skills training class. Borg & Gall (1989) caution that the most serious problem encountered in using the critical-incident technique is to obtain incidents from the individuals interviewed that seem to be truly critical to the behavior or skills being studied. If incidents can be collected that are truly critical, that truly differentiate between successful and unsuccessful behavior, then this method can be very useful research approach. Case studies deliberately move away from the attempt to generalize; they seek to particularize. Case studies are premised on the belief that more is to be gained by deep understanding of a few individuals than from shallow understanding of many (Goldman, 1978). Case studies are oriented to interrelatedness of data, and patterns of experience rather than measurements of events isolated from all other events. They do not lead to simple explanations of complex behavior. It is the very ability of the case study to provide rich, complex, intricate data that makes it attractive to those who believe psychology has been perhaps too spare, sterile, and unrelated to real people in real situations.

Finally, since the Cognitive Skills Program is designed for inmates and the people who work with them (correctional educators and guards), it is important to keep in mind that research should take account of the context and also the relevant forces outside the unit being studied. Case study research is an ideal design for understanding and interpreting observations of such educational programming.

If a case study approach is to be used, the researcher should be aware of the following potential sources of difficulty in the study: 1) Bias in the selection of subjects; 2) Choices in constructing the interview; 3) The relation of theory and hypotheses to the interview; 4) Potential bias introduced by the interviewer; 5) Limitations of free-response interview data; and 6) Limitations on generalizability.

Three hundred sociopathic male inmates from the Minnesota Correctional Facility-Lino Lakes comprised the population for the study. Eight male sociopathic inmates and two male inmates who were judged as displaying sociopathic behavior made up the sample. The men from the sample volunteered to be in the study after completing the cognitive skills training program. The Cognitive Skills Training Program lasted approximately thirty-six lessons. Each lesson comprised approximately two hours.

Seven matrices were constructed to encompass the information gained from the interviews with the inmates by the researcher. An assessment was made by the researcher as to whether or not the prisoner understood the content of the cognitive skills training course. Teachers and correctional officers were asked for their comments on the behavior of the inmates. Was the knowledge learned in the classroom applied outside the class at work and in social settings at the prison? Finally, the researcher examined the inmates' base files to determine if behavior had improved after the inmate took the class.

Findings by Question

There was strong evidence that the inmates did comprehend the information that was taught to them in the Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program. Unfortunately, once this researcher talked to teachers and guards and examined the base files of the inmates, the author learned that the behaviors did not match the positive learning experiences. Some of the inmates had actually become more violent after taking the class. Others did not change in their behavior patterns. It can be stated no inmate actually improved because of the class.

In summary, no significant findings were found. The following reasons were cited by this researcher:

- All the inmates in the study were sociopaths or were judged as exhibiting sociopathic behavior. Since sociopaths are manipulative and superficially charming, we cannot trust the information that they give us. We can only observe their actions.
- There was no clear connection between skills learned in the cognitive skills class and the behavior cited in the inmates' base files.
- The teachers may have been overly optimistic about the merits of the program.
- The inmates may have been overly optimistic about the merits of the program.
- The guards lacked basic awareness about the class because they had not taken the course.
- The time frame of the study was very short.

Conclusions

There are several reasons why this researcher did not find significant findings. At first blush, one could take the findings of this study and argue that there is no support for cognitive skills training as a pre cursor to vocational education for incarcerated individuals. This is certainly one reasonable conclusion of the study. There are, in addition, three possible alternative explanations of why the cognitive skills training appeared to have little impact. These are issues of selection bias, measurement error, and the methodology used to deliver the cognitive skills training.

Selection Bias

As noted in Chapter 3, the sample for this study were all males who were diagnosed as sociopathic in their behavior or sociopathic.

Does the Sociopathic inmate exhibit cognitive distortions that may interfere with the findings?

Beck, Freeman & Associates (1990) note that sociopaths and those who are judged exhibiting sociopathic behaviors do exhibit cognitive distortions. It is helpful to identify these flaws that would be amenable to intervention. An inmate with ASPD (antisocial personality disorder) typically holds a number of self-serving beliefs that guide his or her behavior. These frequently include, but are not necessarily limited to, the following six beliefs:

1. Justification—"Wanting something or wanting to avoid something justifies my actions."
2. Thinking is believing—"My thoughts and feelings are completely accurate, simply because they occur to me."
3. Personal infallibility—"I always make good choices."
4. Feelings make facts—"I know I am right because I feel right about what I do."
5. The impotence of others—"The views of others are irrelevant to my decisions, unless they directly control my immediate consequences."
6. Low-impact consequence—"Undesirable consequences will not occur or will not matter to me." (p. 154).

Thus, such inmates' automatic thoughts and reactions are frequently distorted by self-serving beliefs that emphasize immediate, personal satisfactions and minimize future consequences. The underlying belief that they are always right makes it unlikely that they will question their actions. Inmates will vary in the degree of trust or mistrust they have in others, but they are unlikely to seek guidance or advice on any particular course of action (p.154). With that in mind, how can this researcher trust anything stated?

In addition, the majority of the inmates in the sample were sex offenders. Although not all sex offenders can be described as having criminal personalities, many of these patterns identified by Yochelson and Samenow (1976) seem relevant. Some of the salient ones are:

Zero state: the view of self-esteem as all or nothing;

Pride: a grandiose evaluation of the self; manhood is equivalent to sexuality;

Power thrust: a high need for control;

Extreme duality of religion: seeing people as good or evil, using religion to further personal goals;

anger: an emotion that is all consuming and often a reaction to fear and depression.

Yochelson and Samenow (1976) mention in *Laws' Relapse prevention with sex offenders* (1989, p. 208-209) that criminals make flaws in automatic thinking patterns. These errors are also similar to the cognitive distortions found in sex offenders. Examples of automatic thinking are:

1. The victim stance. Criminals often take the victim stance when a crime is discovered. For example, child molesters will sometimes describe themselves as victims of "seductive" 8-year-olds, or victims of nonresponsive adult sexual partners. Having the offender take full responsibility for the offense is one of the desired goals of challenging this type of cognitive distortion.
2. Failure of empathy. Criminals often have difficulty placing themselves in the role of others. Yochelson and Samenow (1976) describe a process in which the criminal's "mind is closed, and he views people as favorably disposed to him, even when they are not...if he is really sensitive to others and listens to them, he runs the risk that he will ideas opposed to his position" (p. 373). In this regard, the sex offender is often unable to recognize signs of fear, distress or discomfort in the victim. Only after there is objective examination of the victim's response, and appropriate challenging of the offender's distortions, is he able to admit to possible negative reactions from the victim. Even then, there may still be a lack of emotional identification with the victim's response.
3. Failure to recognize injury to others. Related to the lack of empathy, the criminal does not view himself as injuring others. He may feel that his behavior is perfectly justifiable and that he is an innocent victim of unjust laws (Yochelson & Samenow, 1976). It is not uncommon to hear from pedophiles that their love of and sexual attraction to children is perfectly normal and that they could be happy if society accepted their behavior.
4. Ownership. The criminal often functions as if others are his property. This "if I want it, it's mine" mentality is often seen in the rapist who targets a victim ahead of time, "claims her," and systematically plans how to overtake her (Laws, 1989, p. 208).
5. Superoptimism. The criminal engages in a type of grandiose thinking that serves to shut off his fear response. He is usually sure that the crime can be executed without being caught. The rapist may manifest this type of thinking when, after his offense, he asks the woman if he can give her a

lift home or date her in the future. Child molesters often long to reestablish relationships with their victims after the child reaches the age of consent. The anticipated response of the victim is glamorized (Laws, 1989, p. 209).

The above thinking errors represent a general style of erroneous thinking that most sex offenders share. Sex offenders also engage in cognitive distortions-deviant cognitions that more specifically related to their preferred deviant activity. These types of distortions can be extremely complex and organized on a number of levels designed to justify, excuse, and allow for the practice of deviant behavior (Akers, 1977). The distortions differ with the type of offense. Laws (1989, p. 209) compiled the following list of common cognitive distortions made by incest offenders, pedophiles, exhibitionists, and rapists, respectively:

Incest offenders

It's better to molest your own child than to commit adultery.

Pedophiles

Children can make their own decisions about sex.

Exhibitionists

If they look at me, they want me sexually.

Rapists

When she said "no," she really meant "yes."

This researcher questions the validity and usefulness of the data collected due to the cognitive distortions of the sex offender.

Measurement Error

Another explanation for finding little effect of cognitive skills training may be attributed to the crude measures of behavior used in the study. Actual observation of inmate behavior was not possible so prison personnel were relied upon to assess changes in behavior. This researcher only spent an hour or so with each subject. Although the prison guards spent much more time watching the inmate, they were very unaware of the Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program. Teachers were familiar with the inmate's daily activities in the school and they were very familiar with the cognitive skills training program because they had taught the course before, but they did not peruse the inmate's files in the same detail that this researcher did. Records are biased by correctional officers who generally view inmates in a punitive way.

Does the Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program fit into the culture Lino Lakes?

To answer this question, this researcher reviewed the selection process of Canadian offenders for their Reasoning and Rehabilitation program. To aid in the selection of offenders, an Inmate Selection Criteria Checklist was developed which could be used by case management staff following the completion of the case management strategies and force-field analysis of needs areas (Lerner, Arling & Baird, 1986). The Checklist determined whether the offender evidenced any of the

previously discussed cognitive deficits and pinpointed those deficits which were most prevalent. The checklist and sample copies of the a force-field analysis, which outlined both an ideal candidate for the Cognitive Skills Training Program and a candidate for whom the program was not essential, were provided to all institutional and community case management officers in each pilot site (p. 7).

Though the selection of offenders was determined according to "need" as assessed by case management strategies and the Inmate Selection Criteria Checklist, some offenders were *excluded* from the outset. They were:

- severe mentally disordered offenders and offenders who showed evidence of organic damage.
- Offenders with *low verbal skills* due to an intellectual deficiency, i.e., mentally handicapped offenders.
- Sex offenders.

It was seen as beneficial to the assessment of the program's effectiveness to eliminate sex offenders during this pilot project. Though the Canadian researchers believe that sex offenders could benefit from exposure to the Cognitive Skills Training Program, they noted that these particular inmates require a specialized program directed towards the specific nature of their offenses. During this pilot the program was being assessed in terms of its value to the "general" population.

The majority (60%) of the inmates in this researcher's study are sex offenders. Why were these sex offenders at the Minnesota Correctional Facility-Lino Lakes included in the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program? Did the educators at Lino Lakes believe that these sex offenders were different from the Canadian sex offenders and therefore should be included in the program?

At present, any inmate who wishes to take the Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program at Lino Lakes may do so, provided that he has demonstrated good behavior. The conviction does not play a role in the selection process.

Delivery of the Cognitive Skills Program

Although it is true that one aim of studying multiple cases is to increase generalizability, reassuring yourself that the events and processes in one well-described setting are not wholly idiosyncratic, it is also a fact that at a deeper level, the aim is to see processes and outcomes across many cases, to understand how they are qualified by local conditions, and thus to develop more sophisticated descriptions and more powerful explanations (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 172).

However, developing a good cross-case analysis/synthesis is not a simple matter. Alcoholic A, for example, turns out to be quite different in personality dynamics from Alcoholic B, and cannot be facilely compared, as Denzin (1989) eloquently shows us. The researcher must look carefully at the complex configurations of processes within each case and understand the local dynamics before she can begin to see patterning of variables that transcend particular cases.

There are several problems specific to this researcher's study. First, only ten inmates were selected for the study. Even though only fifteen were available at this particular prison at this particular time, it would be helpful if more inmates were taking the Cognitive Skills Program so that the sample could be larger.

Second, sex offenders and sociopaths made up the sample. Some evidence suggests that antisocial personality characteristics may act synergistically to produce poorer treatment outcome in therapeutic and educational communities (Fals-Stewart & Lucente, 1992). Third, the time frame of the study was extremely short. The researcher collected documentation on inmate behavior prior to and one month subsequent to the treatment (the Cognitive Skills Training Program). Interview data from the inmate participants was collected one month following their participation in the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program. The first interview with the educators and the correctional officers took place immediately following the treatment and then a followup interview (one month after the treatment) regarding perception of changes in prison behavior was done. However, the study was important in that it was the first research of its kind done in the United States in which inmates who had taken the Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program were tracked before and after they took the course to determine whether or not the class had an impact on their behavior.

Given more time, it is recommended that research be done over a period of many years to track the inmates before, during and after they have completed the Cognitive Skills Training Program. It is also important to track the inmates once they are released from prison. Do the convicts return to their old behaviors? Can the ex-prisoners actually be reformed by the Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program so they can now be taught vocational training in an effective manner? These questions are important to keep asking in this field.

The Reasoning and Rehabilitation Project comprised an experimental test of the efficacy of an intervention program in the rehabilitation of high-risk adult probationers. The program was derived from a series of sequential studies of the principles of effective correctional programs. These studies, conducted from 1973-1978 in Canada, indicated that many offenders evidence deficits in cognitive skills which are essential for pro-social adjustment and the training in these skills is an essential ingredient of effective correctional programs in Canada. Compared to regular probation and life skills training, cognitive training provided by probation officers led to a major reduction in re-arrest rates and incarceration rates among adult high-risk probationers (Ross, Fabiano & Ewles, 1979). By doing a similar experiment in this country in each prison that offers the COG program, there is hope researchers may be able to lower the recidivism rate in America's prisons.

Recommendations for Further Research

This research has initiated study of the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program from the Correctional Service of Canada. This is exploratory work to stimulate thinking about utilizing cognitive skills training as a precursor to vocational training for inmates at the Minnesota Correctional Facility-Lino Lakes. In addition, the research has generated a series of new research questions that suggest many important areas of future study and research. This section will review the specific recommendations resulting from the findings. Recommendations will be offered for educators in three areas: (a) curriculum for academic programs, (b)

applied practice for professionals, and (c) areas requiring additional research.

Curriculum for Academic Programs. The Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program from the Correctional Service of Canada provides an excellent model for the development of cognitive skills as a precursor for vocational training in prisons. In Canada there is evidence that the offenders made gains in key attitudinal and cognitive skill areas that were measured. Offenders who received the program became more positive in their attitudes toward the law, courts and police, increased in their social perspective-taking abilities, improved in critical reasoning skills, and showed more capacity for optional thinking (Fabiano, Robinson & Porporino, 1990).

The following recommendations might be considered regarding the education of prisoners involved in vocational training. First, this researcher recommends that the Minnesota Department of Corrections continue to expand the Reasoning and Rehabilitation programming in Minnesota prisons. Second, this researcher recommends that the cognitive skills program be taught outside of the prison to examine whether or not it has a positive effect on cognitive-deficient individuals who wish to enroll in a vocational training course. Third, this researcher recommends that examples of cultural diversity be incorporated into the curriculum to meet the needs of the diverse prison population.

Applied Practice. Educators face significant challenges in applying vocational reform theories in the prison environment. Findings from this research led to one recommendation in the area of applied practice. The Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program from the Correctional Service of Canada has been introduced into a minute number of vocational programs in America's prisons since 1991. Given time and research, it is possible that the same positive effects found in the Canadian system will be found in this country.

Additional Research. Future research should proceed on all of the research questions identified in this study. First, a critical need exists for longitudinal studies of the inmates who have taken the cognitive skills training course. The data from these studies would help researchers understand and identify the needs and benefits of such programming. Second, studies that could have important implications for the relationship of cognitive skills training to vocational programming would involve evaluation of the effectiveness of such education in prisons.

This researcher recommends that *Rehabilitation through clearer thinking: A cognitive model of correctional intervention* (Fabiano, Porporino & Robinson, 1990) be examined by all vocational correctional educators in this country. This research brief outlines the effectiveness of the Cognitive Skills Training Program from pilot to national implementation. Investigations of two samples of offenders who were participants in the Program revealed that, in comparison to non-participants, participants were less likely to recidivate following release. The evidence suggests that program completers have lower rates of readmissions for new convictions and that the program effects on recidivism appear to be most beneficial for high risk offenders. Psychometric data also indicate that Cognitive Skills participants improve on a number of attitudinal and cognitive skill dimen-

sions during their exposure to the program. That finding suggests that the program is effective in producing positive changes on the intermediate targets which are associated with recidivism.

Finally, this researcher recommends that the Cognitive Skills Training Program (Reasoning and Rehabilitation) become a component of a comprehensive educational program in American prisons similar to the Living Skills Programming found in Canadian prisons. At present, the Cognitive Skills Training Program is only a one-shot treatment in the U.S. prison system.

Living Skills Programming within the Correctional Service of Canada consists of a series of different programs addressing particular need areas of offenders. Each of these need areas have been targeted by research as contributing to, or maintaining, criminal behavior. The Cognitive Skills Training Program, examined in this thesis, is the core component of Living Skills Programming. These programs were designed to be available throughout the incarceration period in order to meet the offender's most relevant needs in the process of preparing for reintegration (Fabiano, Robinson, and Poporino, 1991). For more information outlining the program components of Living Skills, consult *A Preliminary Assessment of the Cognitive Skills Training Program: A Component of Living Skills Programming*, a text by Elizabeth Fabiano, Dave Robinson, and Frank Porporino.

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Biographical Sketch

Dr. Kimora is Director of Organizational Management and Communication in the Concordia School of Accelerated Learning (CSAL) at Concordia University, St. Paul, MN. The CSAL program directs its teachings to adult self-directed learners.

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Dr. Kimora is also a human resource management consultant in private practice. Her firm entitled "Kimora" works with various companies throughout the United States. Her expertise is in the areas of quality and productivity, personnel planning and recruiting, and orientation and training.

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